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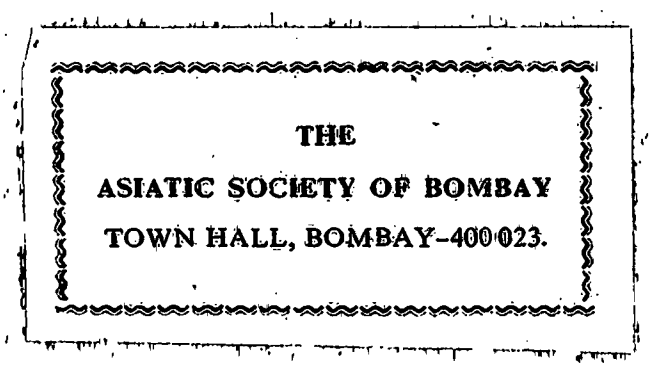

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INNER AFRICA LAID OPEN,

IN AN ATTEMPT TO TRACE

THE CHIEF LINES OF COMMUNICATION ACROSS THAT CONTINENT

SOUTH OF THE EQUATOR:

WITH THE ROUTES TO

38114

THE MUROPUÈ AND THE CAZEMBE, MOENEMOEZI AND LAKE NYASSA;

THE JOURNEYS OF

THE REV. DR. KRAPF AND THE REV. J. REBMANN

ON THE EASTERN COAST,

AND

THE DISCOVERIES OF MESSRS. OSWELL AND LIVINGSTONE

IN THE HEART OF THE CONTINENT.

BY

WILLIAM DESBOROUGH COOLEY.

LONDON:
LONGMAN, BROWN, GREEN, AND LONGMANS.
1852.

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PREFACE.

The following pages were originally written for the purpose of elucidating and justifying a map, drawn on a large scale and exhibiting in the fullest manner the authentic details of that portion of Africa, which lies between the equator and the southern tropic. The utility of such a disclosure of detail is obvious, for in weighing the credibility of statements, it is of the utmost importance to consider the copiousness and harmony of the accompanying particulars. The map in question was drawn above a year ago, and was placed early in November (1851), in the hands of Mr. John Arrowsmith, at his own desire, to be engraved and published. He received it free from any stipulation or condition but that of publication within a reasonable time, and voluntarily engaged to complete the work in two months. As circumstances beyond my control, however, now forbid my reckoning on the completion of that map, and as the value of every comment or suggestion, connected with progressive discovery, is liable to continual change, it seems best to publish the Memoir without further delay, notwithstanding the disadvantage under which it must appear when

separated from the work which determined its form and was calculated to reflect on it a natural and appropriate light: for as the Memoir was written to justify the map, so the map would have explained the motives of the Memoir, and vindicated its attention to particular details. The small map now prefixed to the work will suffice for the illustration of general views, and show the range and scope of the inquiry. Though it differs materially from the ordinary maps of the same portion of the earth, the attentive reader will soon perceive that it has not been incautiously compiled, and that its title to distinction is founded not on originality nor fulness (which latter indeed would be impossible in so small a space), so much as on superior authenticity.

W. D. C.

26th July, 1852.

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INNER AFRICA LAID OPEN.

THE interior of Africa, south of the equator, still remains in our best maps a blank; yet our information respecting that portion of the earth, scanty as it may appear, is sufficient, when aptly analysed and combined, to shed a flood of light on a very interesting region. The chief physical features of that hitherto dark interior, and those most likely to operate on the social condition of mankind, may be made to shine forth with incontrovertible evidence. To collect and duly concentrate every scattered ray of light is the task herein undertaken. If successfully performed, it will invest with an authentic character much that is now involved in doubt and uncertainty; and, at the same time, it cannot fail to augment our knowledge with the consequences that follow on clear views. The first attempt of this kind was made in the "Memoir on the Geography of Nyassi," which appeared in the "Journal of the Royal Geographical Society," vol. xv., 1845. The novelty, extent, and intrinsic importance of the field therein opened to inquiry, would fully justify the repetition of

its survey, even within the same limits. But we now resume its investigation with a wider scope, increased resources, and with a reasonable expectation of being able to dispel much of the obscurity which still hangs over the geography of Africa. The discoveries recently made in Eastern Africa by the missionaries settled near Mombas, will be also found here, reduced to an authentic shape and in their just proportions.

The attempt to penetrate and examine that which is less known in geography, is often marred by misconception of that which is better known, arising chiefly from the vague language of travellers, and their exaggerated estimates of distances. Before we venture, therefore, to proceed into the interior, we must endeavour to ascertain the position of our starting point. In the map drawn by D'Anville for Labat's "Relation Historique de l'Ethiopie Occidentale," attention is called by that judicious geographer to the blank space in the interior, the unusual extent of which, he observes, is attributable, not to increased distance between the coasts, but simply to reduction of the exaggerated extent given to the known region on both sides. In all maps of Africa anterior to the 18th century, and in many of later date, the kingdoms of Abessinia, Monomotapa, and Congo, meet in the middle of the continent, where, consequently, they leave no void or blank. Errors of this kind, pervading nearly all our geographical materials, are hard to be got rid of; and it is curious to observe, that in the map by D'Anville, above referred to, the Abessinian name Bagamidr still adheres to the upper course of

the Quango. It cannot be said that there was an absolute want of information respecting the countries comprised in that map, namely, the Portuguese settlements on both sides of Africa, with the adjoining countries, or, in other words, Congo, Angola, Benguela, and Monomotapa. To confine ourselves at present to the Western side, there were,—besides the accounts of Lopez as given by Pigafetta; of Battell, who spent some years in Angola; of Braun, Barbot, and others who visited the coasts;—the narratives of the missionaries Merolla, Guattini and Carli, Biondi, Romano, Pellicer de Tovar, Zucchelli, and Cavazzi de Montecuccolo. The last named writer, when compiling his "Istorica Descrittione de Tre Regni, &c.," had before him the accumulated missionary information of more than a century. Yet all these volumes together would hardly furnish twenty pages of sound geographical intelligence, resting on actual observation, and free from exaggeration.

Cavazzi's work was translated by Labat, but not faithfully, the translator often taking unwarrantable liberties with his author. Thus, when Cavazzi states that Sundi (the town) is "six leagues from the great cataract of the Bancári, where it joins the Zaire towards the South," his translator merely says "six leagues from the falls of the Zaire. There is nó ground for supposing that Labat was in these matters better informed than his author; and it must be inferred, therefore, that, in favour of his own views, he perverted the statements which Cavazzi had probably derived from the original testimony, and which are rendered at the

present day doubly interesting by the consideration, that, if they be true, Tuckey's expedition, which seems to have explored the Zaire nearly as far as the missionaries had ever penetrated, turned back when just on the point of making interesting discoveries.

The exaggeration of distance affecting nearly all accounts of missionary travels, are palpable only when the routes terminate near the sea coast; otherwise it eludes detection. The charts show that the distance between Sonho, within the Zaire, near its mouth, and Loanda, which the missionaries repeatedly estimate at 200 leagues, is hardly so many miles. But towards the interior, up the Zaire, exaggeration was unchecked. The Anziko, a nation occupying the hills opposite to Sundi, and extending downwards to Emboma below the falls, were placed 200 or 300 leagues, or perhaps three times their true distance, from the sea; and that mistake remains to this day uncorrected. When we read Cavazzi's account of Father Girolamo de Montesarchio's journey to Cancobella, a town on the Zaire, tributary to the Micoco or the king of the Anziko, we find nothing in it that indicates a long journey.* He is silent respecting the distance between the two places, though the missionaries are habitually unreserved in describing their toils. When the Friar fell sick at Cancobella, he was at once carried back to Sundi, whence it may be inferred that these places were at the utmost twenty or thirty miles asunder. Yet, in maps of our own day, Cancobella has been placed

* Cavazzi de Montecuccolo, Istorica Relattione de Tre Regni, &c., Milan, 1690, p. 408., &c.

500 miles from the sea; and Monsol, the supposed capital of the Anziko, was set by D'Anville himself in long. 26° 20′ E., close to the equator, or probably 700 miles from its true position. It is curious to reflect on the magnitude of these errors and on their sources; and to think how wretchedly imperfect at this day is our knowledge of countries which have been perambulated more or less for three centuries by Christian missionaries.

We know that Masingano (the Meeting of the Waters) in Angola, is situate about forty leagues up the Quanza, or probably less than 100 nautical miles from the sea in a straight line, just above the junction of this river and the Lucála. It is ordinarily reached in six days from Loanda; five of them up the Quanza, against the stream. The fort of Cambambe is ten leagues from Masingano by land, or two days by water, the river making here a wide circuit; and again above or E. of Cambambe, two days distant, is the Presidio das Pedras, otherwise called the Rocks of Maopongo, or Pungo Andongo.* Thus the distance from Loanda to Pungo Andongo is ten days, going partly by water; but the direct route by land, through Embáca on the Lucála, is a day or two shorter. The ordinary day's journey in Angola is fifteen or sixteen miles, and with trained bearers, carrying the Tipóia or suspended hammock, on a good road, it varies little. The Em-

* Guerreiro (Relaçam Annual, 1611, vol. i. fol. 127.) sets the native capital of Angola (Cabezzo, on the Rocks) 13 leagues E. of Cambambe. The Portuguese league of route may be here taken as 2 miles of protracted distance.

pacasseiros, or native couriers, run from Loanda to Pungo Andongo in six days.* From all this we are justified in concluding that the distance between these places cannot exceed 150 miles.

When we look at the missionaries' mode of travelling in this quarter, we find that they usually embarked on the Quanza about seven leagues S. by E. from Loanda, and thence ascended to Masingano in twelve or thirteen days. Thence they went up the Lucála to Embáca in seven or eight days, and in as many more reached Pungo Andongo, so that their journey to this place occupied an entire month. From these details and much more of the same kind, it may be inferred, with perfect certainty, that the ordinary day's journey of the missionaries never exceeded six geographical miles projected in a straight line; on rare occasions, and with effort, it may have extended to ten miles. Now Cavazzi travelled from Embáca to Polongólo, the capital of the Jaga Casange, in eighteen or twenty days; and other missionaries from Loanda reached the same place in a month; whence it is manifest that Polongólo cannot be above 250 miles from the sea.†

When the deficiency of details and the gross exaggeration with which D'Anville had to do, are fairly

* Memorias contendo a Biographia do Vice Almirante Luiz da Motta Feo e Torres, &c., by J. C. Feo Cardozo de Castelbranco, &c., p. 354. Pungo a Ndongo (as the name ought to have been written) signifies the crest or impending height of Ndongo (the interior of Angola). Had the missionaries ever perceived the meaning of the word Pungo, they would doubtless have analysed and explained the Congoese name for the Deity, Zambi-a-npungo, the Spirit *above*, or *on high*.

† Istorica Descrittione, &c., pp. 649. 657.

considered, we must admire the general sagacity of his innovations, and his resolute reduction of itinerary distances. At the present day we may venture a little further, in correcting excessive estimates of distance, as will appear from the following table:—

		Geog. Miles. D'Anville.	Geog. Miles. Amended.
From the mouth of the Quanza to	Masingano	115	100
From Loanda to - -	Embáca	165	130
,,	Pungo Andongo	213	150
,,	Polongólo	330	250

In order to understand the importance of having the concurrence of so great an authority as D'Anville in our wish to explode exaggerations, it must be remembered that there still exists in geographical works a strong inclination to prefer statements derived from, or designed to gratify, the imagination. M. Douville, who still has followers, placed Masingano 210 miles, Embáca 275 miles, and the capital of Casange 665 miles E. of Loanda! Bowdich states gravely that the Portuguese fair in Casange is 700 miles inland; nay, the missionary Cannecattim increases this distance to 500 (Portuguese) leagues, or 1660 geographical miles, which exceeds the whole breadth of the continent in the latitude of Angola! The Portuguese markets or fairs in Angola are invariably within a short distance of forts. Unprotected, indeed, they would be useless. The fair of Donde, the chief slave market in the colony, is two leagues from Cambambe, down the river. The fair of Casange was probably near Pungo Andongo to the N. or N. E., in which quarter, and bordering on Embáca, there is a Jaga

chief dependent on the Portuguese. And here it may be remarked, that had D'Anville consulted the original authorities, instead of allowing himself to be misled by Labat, he would have perceived that Matamba is but a little way E. of Pungo Andongo, near the Quanza, while Casange lies further off to the N. E. or N. N. E. Embáca lay on the road (which was doubtless circuitous) between those two places; the royal village in Matamba being a week's, that of Polongólo a three weeks' journey distant.

Having thus ascertained approximately the internal limits of Angola and of the Portuguese settlements therein, we may now proceed to review the attempts made to explore the remote interior. In 1802, Francisco Honorato Da Costa, superintendent of the fair or factory of Casange, sent two Pombeiros, or native mercantile travellers, into the interior, with instructions to cross the continent, if possible, to the Zambeze.* But a principal object of their mission was to endeavour to establish relations of amity and intercourse with the Muropue or king of the Moluas (as they are called by the Portuguese), who was known to dwell beyond Casange towards the N. E. or N. N. E. The wily Jaga or Chief of Casange, it appeared, was adverse to such direct intercourse, and had hitherto prevented the Moluas from visiting the coast, by representing the Portuguese as cannibals, risen from the sea. But as this engrossing, obstructive, or protective policy prevails universally in Africa, it was

* Pombeiro is the Portuguese derivative from the Bunda or Angolan word Pámbu, a route or journey.

to be feared that the Muropue would not allow the Pombeiros to pass eastwards or southwards through his dominions. They were instructed, therefore, to lay aside their mercantile character, and to represent themselves as envoys of Mueneputo (the king of Portugal), seeking their chief's brother, who had travelled into the interior some years before, and had not been since heard of. The person thus alluded to was Dr. Lacerda, who in 1798 conducted an expedition from Tete on the Zambeze, to Lucenda the residence of the Cazembe, where he died soon after his arrival.*

The Pombeiros executed their undertaking, but experienced delays that showed its difficulty. At a distance of only eight days from the Portuguese limits they met with obstruction from a petty chief. They pushed on, however, to Bomba, who effectually detained them above two years. Ransomed by Da Costa, they were allowed to depart; and after paying another ransom to a chief named Moshíco, they at length reached the Muropúe, or Muáta ya Nvo or ya Mbò, in 1805. By him they appear to have been kindly treated; and continuing their journey without mishap, they arrived at Lucenda, the residence of the Cazembe, on the last day of 1806. Here they remained four years, prevented by wars from proceeding to Tete. At last however, on the 2nd of February 1811, they entered that town, were ill received by the Portuguese authorities, and, with very inadequate means, started on their return to Angola, where they arrived in 1815.

* Annaes Maritimos e Coloniaes, 1843, p. 236.

In attempting to follow the details of their march, we must begin with ascertaining their starting point. They left Mucári or the Factory of Casange, in November 1802. The word Mucári, means the estate or domain (of the Portuguese), that is, the land conceded for the purpose of a market. That the fair or factory in question was near Pungo Andongo, may be inferred from the terms of a despatch announcing the arrival in Loanda, in 1839, of a letter written in Lucenda, in 1832, by Major Monteiro. The despatch says, "The ensign or cadet (of the Company of Pungo Andongo) could not explain the route of the Pombeiro from Pungo Andongo to Lucenda—a route frequently travelled by their native agents; but he let it be seen that the course is along the river Quanza, leaving Casange to the left. If there were a strong settlement in Pungo Andongo or in Duque de Braganza (the latter superior as further in), all difficulties would be vanquished." Now the Angolan province named Duque de Braganza did not exist in 1802, at which time Pungo Andongo was the most advanced post, and, as we may infer from the despatch, the only point whence the traders' emissaries could have gone forth.*

The starting point of the Pombeiros, then, was the Mucári, or domain containing the factory for Casange, within a day's journey probably of Pungo Andongo, in about lat. 9° 30′ S., long. 15° 34′ E. Nearly 14 degrees

* Annaes Maritimos, 1843, p. 539. The province of Duque de Braganza was formed in 1837; Omboni, Viaggi in Africa Occidentale, p. 392.

further E., and in the same parallel, stands Lucenda, the Cazembe's capital. Between these two points we have to arrange a route of 150 days' march, made by experienced travellers, who halted often and long for rest, and whose daily route may be taken at ten miles. Imperfect as is the narrative of the journey, which offers few indications of course or distance, we still think it practicable, trusting in the coherence of truth, and guided by various considerations which arise as we proceed, to lay down the route, without such an amount of error as would detract materially from its geographical value. In making this attempt, we shall certainly represent some truth, and that, we hope, sufficiently comprehensive to palliate accompanying defects. The first portion of the narrative, containing the march from Mucári to Muáta ya Nvo, is the least satisfactory, and presents nothing but a list of the stages or halting places, seventy-six in all. As this was the portion of the route in which the travellers experienced most hindrance and delay, it is likely that their brief abstract of day's marches on it was drawn merely from memory, their journal having been interrupted. We know that, in order to avoid Casange on the left, they went along the right bank of the Quanza which rises in Bíhè, at a distance of fifteen days S. E., perhaps, from Pungo Andongo. They thus came to the estates of Bomba between the rivers Quanza and Quango, which are said to be but seven days asunder.

The titles of this chief are thus enumerated by Francisco Honorato: "Seculo Bomba, Cambambi,

Camasaca, and Mujumbo Acalunga, Ruler and Lord of all the Songo and passage to the interior." * In Mujumbo Acalunga may be easily recognised the Muzumbo Acalunga of Delisle, who translates it "Mouth of the Sea." This was a plausible version of a mistaken title. Risúmbu, in fact, signifies the mouth, and the plural Masúmbu the lips: but in a language assigning the most important functions to the initial syllable, these words must not be confounded with Muzumbo, which is probably but a misreading for Mujumbo; and this seems to be a personal noun derived from Jumbo, the name of a river in Bomba's territory.† A-calunga certainly means "of the sea," and refers possibly to the broad waters of the Quango. Delisle places his Muzumbo Acalunga nearly in the same longitude as our Bomba, but much more widely spread, and, as a consequence of exaggerated distance (the geographer's information being derived from the missionaries in Angola), much further to the south. Bomba is said to be known to the Ovaherero south of Benguela; but the fact is doubtful, since that name, or one like it, is very frequent in those countries. The Pombeiros, whose account is here provokingly obscure, appear to have entered the territory of Bomba, when they crossed the river

* Ann. Mar. 1843, p. 236.

† Perhaps *jumbo* means *a ferry;* in that case mjumbo would mean the ferryman, and "mjumbo a calunga" the ferryman of the sea, or great water. The Portuguese in Lucenda were informed that it was a month's journey to the Chumbo (jumbo ?) on the Lualaba. In Sawáhili jumbo means any utensil; but it also signifies properly a large boat, the Arab dow (daú).

Jumbo on the twelfth day of their march. On the 22nd they arrived at the town of the Secúlo, or, as the Portuguese would say, the Duke Bomba. At a distance of four days from this they came to Pepumdi (?) Songo, also on a river Jumbo, and in three days more (29 in all) crossed the Quango.

Five days beyond the Quango, the travellers crossed a desert nine or ten days in extent to the town of Cabungi*, on the frontier of the Muáta ya Nvo. The desert here mentioned, in which four rivers were met with, the road going along one of them (the Quihubue) for three days, extends probably over the dividing ridge between the valley of the Quango and that of the great rivers whereon lie the dominions of the Muáta ya Nvo. Nine days from Cabungi, they passed through a village forming part of the estates of Luconquésa, the queen-mother, and two days afterwards crossed the great river Casais (more probably Casézi) in a canoe. Again, in ten days, traversing another dividing ridge marked by a two days' desert, they crossed the Lulúa also, the chief river of this region, as will be seen further on, in a canoe. In twelve days more they arrived at the residence of the Muáta ya Nvo, or Muropúe. This town is accordingly seventy-six days distant from Mucári, forty-eight from the Quango, and thirty-four from the southern

* In the Portuguese account this name is written Chacabungi. But in this and several like instances we have rejected the *cha*, considering it as a prefixed particle remaining from the expression 'quilólo or quiríri cha-Cabungi,' the officer or the place of Cabungi.

limit of the Muropúe's kingdom. It is manifest that from Bomba situate up the Quanza, N. E. of Benguela, to the Muropúe, described as being beyond Casange to the north, the direction of the route must have been chiefly northwards.

From the residence of the Muáta ya Nvo onwards to Lucenda, the narrative of the Pombeiros is more satisfactory, assuming the form of a journal, of which there are two copies, differing but three or four days in the account of time, and also in dialect. The sovereign called the Muáta Yanvo in the one, is always styled the Muropue in the other. Leaving the town of this chief, at the end of May 1806, on their way to the Cazembe, they tell us that they had the sun (rising) *full on the left side*, which implies a course about two points east of south, and in this course they persisted for about thirty-seven days. The frequent mention of rain in this part of the journal (from May to September) shows that the wet season had set in. The rivers were numerous, and many of them waist-deep. The chief were, the Izabuígi, the Calalímo, Roando, Rova, Cazelle, the Caginrígi crossed in a canoe, the Réu, Ropoége, and Lubúri, eighty yards wide, forded on the thirty-fourth day, and where the Muropùe's dominion terminates. These rivers, together with other and large streams further on to a distance of twelve days, all flow into the Lulúa.

It is obvious that the greater part of the route just described lies in or along the valley of the Lulúa. The Pombeiros entered that valley as they descended

from the nine-days desert to the town of Cabungi. Thence to the Lulúa they crossed but five rivers, one of them not fordable. But on the eastern side of the valley, from the capital to the river Bacasacála, the last expressly named as an affluent of the Lulúa, —a distance of forty-five days, —they crossed, great and small, in round numbers, 120 rivers. Their route southwards went over rising ground, often ascending valleys, and at length attained apparently a considerable elevation. On both sides of the valley the Muropue's empire extends thirty-four days from the capital; but this measure has undoubtedly, in the journal of the Pombeiros, a greater value on the eastern side. Luconquésa, the queen-mother's estate, which is probably continuous, occurs on the left side of the valley, at a distance of twenty-four days from the capital; on the right side, at a distance of sixteen days, near the banks of the Caginrígi.

There can be no doubt as to the radical relation of the names Lulúa and Mlúa, respectively denoting the river and the inhabitant of its valley. The latter is ordinarily written by the Portuguese Molua, and in the plural Moluas. The missionary Cannecattim, however, has thought fit to adopt Milúa for the plural, intimating merely that the word is originally pure Bunda. Whatever respect for this author's opinion may be inspired by a sight of his grammar and dictionary of the Bunda language, a careful study of these works will be sure to dispel it.* He has failed

* Collecção de Observações Grammaticaes sobre a Lingua Bunda, Lisbon, 1805, por Fr. B. M. de Cannecattim, p. xiv. The great

to perceive that the distinction between Bunda nouns in respect of declension, is founded in nature, though not rigorously carried out according to the first design,—for language, in its growth is moulded as much by rhetoric as by logic; and hence he has united in one declension (in his grammar, the First) two totally distinct classes of nouns. In consequence of this confusion, he assigns to a nation a name (Milúa) which wants the indispensable characteristic of the personal and gentile form. That characteristic is the letter *a* in the first syllable of the plural. The true name, in the plural, is probably Alúa, which we shall henceforth adopt.

The position of the capital of the Muáta ya Nvo, forty-eight days from the Quango,—a length of journey which would allow it to go further north than we have placed it,—is more immediately and effectively controlled by the route connecting it with Lucenda, to which we shall turn presently.

The visit of the Pombeiros, bearing fine presents, among which were a scarlet coat with gilt buttons,

difficulty of the Bunda and cognate tongues, lies in the system of symphonious concord, which is entirely omitted by Cannecattim, as is, indeed, the structure of a sentence also. He is in all respects an unsafe and unsatisfactory writer. It is to be observed that the nominal prefix *lu*, frequent in the language of Congo, and admitted in Bunda by Pedro de Dias (Arte da lingoa de Angola, 1697.), is excluded from the latter language by Cannecattim. How then can Lulúa be a Bunda word? But in the Congoese, doubtless, it occurs. Tuckey mentions the brook Looloo, and also the Sooloo looanzaza, which ought to be written Sululu a nzaza. (Voyage to explore the River Zaire, pp. 204. 220.) The final vowel of lulúa is easily lost on a European ear. Nzaza means a canoe.

made a favourable impression on the Muáta ya Nvo, who despatched, in consequence, an embassy to Mueneputo (king of Portugal). His ambassadors not being allowed to cross the territory of Casange, took the circuitous route by Bomba, and reached Loanda in the beginning of 1808. They bore presents, consisting of slaves, skins of apes and zebras, mats, rush baskets, two bars of copper, and one sample of salt. They were fine-looking men, with long beards, their arms and legs loaded with copper rings, and heads adorned with parrots' feathers.* The Pombeiros, who conducted them to Loanda, described in advantageous terms the power and civilization of the Alúa, and the size and opulence of their capital. They also stated that the queen resided at a distance of thirty or forty leagues from the king, with a separate jurisdiction; one member of the embassy, indeed, was appointed by her majesty. This story, which has little likelihood (though it supplied M. Douville with an adventure), originated probably in the separate estate of the queen-mother, Luconquesa; and again, the respect paid to a female of the royal family, seems to indicate that among the Alúa the inheritance of the crown passes, not in lineal succession, but to the sister's son.

On crossing the Lubúri the Pombeiros entered the territory of Muginga Mucenda, lord of the frontier, whose office it is to supply the wants of travellers on this most difficult part of the road between the Muropúe and the Cazembe. Four days further

* Memorias, &c. by Feo Cardozo, p. 301.

on, the general direction of the march changed, and the rising sun, which had been hitherto on the left side, was henceforward (from the 11th September) constantly in front; the course had therefore turned to the east. The country now became undulating, the bare ridges taking a greenish hue from the copper ores, while numerous fine streams, the Lufúla among the chief, hurried down to the Lualába. Half a day was spent in wading across the marsh or lagoon of Quibonda. A visit was paid to Muíre, the lord of the copper mines, who, with another chief named Cambembe, manufactures all the copper bars exported from this district to both sides of the continent. In former days these chiefs were independent; now they are vassals of the Cazembe, and pay their tribute of bars to their neighbour and superior in rank, Quibúri, the Cazembe's immediate representative. Having forded the Luigíla, which forms at its junction with the Lualába, the famous salt marsh of Quigíla, our travellers crossed, on the forty-third day, the Lualába itself, 100 yards wide, in a canoe, and entered the hospitable hamlet of Quibúri, the lord of the salt marsh.

The fact that the Quilólo (captain) Quibúri takes his title from the river (the Lubúri) which separates his territory from that of the Muropúe, seems to indicate his original dependence on that sovereign. But his allegiance is now transferred to the Cazembe, and the bond of duty has been strengthened by matrimonial alliance. From the Lubúri to the furthest point eastward to which we can trace his authority,

five days from the Lualába, is a distance of sixteen days' journey. This appears to be a bare, elevated tract, partially covered with extensive marshes. The people of this country, we are told, do not cultivate the ground, because it never was the custom to do so, but buy cassava, millet, and other food, and grass cloth for apparel, with salt and copper, the only products of the land. A custom such as this, evidently implies an ancient and uninterrupted trade; for stoppage in such a case would be extinction. The elevated country abounds with game; the rivers and lakes with fish. The native traders met with by the Pombeiros throughout their journey were laden with nothing but manioca, venison, fish, salt, copper bars, and green stones or copper ores, probably for ornaments. The salt of Quigíla is said to be obtained by the evaporation of a lye made by washing the ashes of the plants that grow in the marsh. The demand for salt so impure can be accounted for only by the want of better. Yet rock-salt also (sal de Pedras) is said to be carried from Quigíla.

The district of the salt and copper mines, which constitute the main-spring of the internal trade of the continent, is well known to all the nations around. Francisco Honorato, relating his negotiations with Bomba for permission to pass through to the interior, says, "The chief of Songo promised to allow me a passage through his country, and to send my slaves with his, to a country called Louvar, wherein reigns Luinhame (Lualába), with whom he is in friendly correspondence. The country is said to be west of

the Luambege (Zambeze), which I believe runs to the east coast. The chief is a relative and subject of the Cazembe." * The country here called Louvar is evidently that of Quibúri, then brother-in-law of the Cazembe, the chief being named in this instance not from the Lubúri, but from the Lualába, near which he resided. In other reports it is called Levar. But the best account of it is given by Alexandre de Silva Texeira, who, in 1795, accompanied Josè d'Assumpção, a native of Bahia, on the third visit of the latter to Loval, as he writes the name.† From Benguela, by Quisange, Quibuila, Bailundo, and Bihè, to the Quanza, they reckoned 148 leagues. Crossing that river, and taking a bye-path through the woods to avoid certain chiefs who were supposed to be adverse to their passing through, they came to the small river Cutía, twenty-four yards broad, and a little further on, to the Cíce, of equal breadth, which latter they ascended seventeen leagues to its source. Thus it would appear that they travelled along the northern slope of elevated ground. Thence they counted thirteen leagues to the river Munhango, twenty-eight more to the head of the Luéña, and thirty-five to the frontier of Loval, governed by the Soveta or petty chief, Caquinga. From this place a march of fifty leagues (191 from the Quanza) terminated at the Libata grande, or chief town of the Sova Quinhame, on the border of the province. The name Quinhame, it must be observed, bears the same

* Annaes Maritimos, 1843, p. 236.
† Ann. Marit. 1844, p. 159.

relation to Luinhame (Lualába), as Quibúri to Lubúri. In Benguela, this chief is named from the river on which he actually dwells; in his own country, from that on which were probably reared the seeds of the principality. Further east, in the immediate dominion of the Cazembe, the name Quibúri is changed into Shibúri. Loval, according to Texeira, is sixty leagues long and ten wide. It has in front (on the east) the Sovas Luy and Amboella; on the right hand, Amboella, Bunda, and Canunga; on the left, the vassals of the great king of the Moluas (Alúa); and in the rear, Quiboque and Bunda. The people of Loval were friendly and hospitable. The Rios de Sena (the Zambéze) were said to be not far-off. But these last words, it must be remarked, convey not the statement of the natives, but only an interpretation of it.

Dr. Krapf relates, that on the coast opposite to Zanzibar he met and conversed with some natives of Moenemoézi, "several of whom had travelled to the western coast of Africa; and one of them asserted that he had been in the country Sofala in quest of copper. He mentioned the name of this country without any allusion having been made to it."* Thanks are due to Dr. Krapf for this piece of information, the meaning of which, however, he has totally mistaken. The word Sofálah, lowland, is pure Arabic, and fitly describes an alluvial maritime tract so depressed and level, that the land itself is not

* Missionary Intelligencer, Vol. III. p. 88., 1852.

seen from ships at anchor in the roadstead a league distant from it. The country so called had commercial importance while Monomotapa flourished, and the gold mines of Mañisa were active. Its celebrity, indeed, rested wholly on the gold dust which passed through it, from a country far to the W. S. W.; but it never had copper, and the name given to it by foreign seamen cannot be supposed to have been known generally among the natives. It is very unlikely that people habitually resorting to Kílwa and Zanzibar should ever cross the country of the Makúa tribes, or the Marávi, to visit Sofálah, and least of all for copper, which is not to be found there. It was not Sofálah, then, that was spontaneously named by the native of Moenemoézi, but Zavále, as Lovále is called further east (just as we have Zambéze for Luambége); and the account was, that he travelled to the western coast, and at Zavále, on the way, procured copper.

In the south, the Bachuána tribes, inhabiting the remarkable land of rivers lately discovered by Messrs. Oswell and Livingstone, in about long. 26° E., lat. 18° S., and who are acquainted with the valleys of their chief rivers towards the N. or N.W. to a distance of 400 miles, all agree in pointing out Lobale as the principal source of their great waters. From that central height, then, flows, northwestward, the great river Lulúa, the valley of which we have traced for nearly 400 miles, and which is obviously the main branch of the Zaire; southward, descends the river of Seshéke, which, with numerous other streams, inundating the country, forms at times a great inland sea; east-

wards, the same heights send down the Luvíri and other streams to the Luapúla, which runs into Nyássa. Lobale, according to these people, is a land of morasses and dangerous bogs, in which incautious way-farers often perish. Its name signifies, in Sichuana, an extensive plain without trees, and so describes, probably with truth, the naked wilds around the Lualába; but it is worth while to consider whether the wide-spread name Lovár, Lovál, Lobále, or Zavále, be not radically connected with the word "bárè," which, in the Mucaranga language (of Monomotapa), signifies a *mine*.*

When the natives of Lobale tell their visitors from Benguela, that "beyond them is the Luambege, which is supposed to flow to the eastern sea," are we to suppose that they speak of the Old Zambeze or Cuáma? Is this river really so important in their eyes, that they should overlook in favour of it all the intervening rivers? This supposition is far from natural. Do they then mean the New Zambeze? The magnitude and importance of this river are at least equally doubtful. But may they not have in view that great river (the river of Seshéke), which rising in their own hills, and flowing into a course directly opposite to that of the Lulúa, inundates an immense extent of country, so as to form a great sea, and then disappears in the S. E. after it has taken the name of Zambeze? This appears to be the obvious and more natural interpretation of their words.

* Ann. Marit. 1845, pp. 401, 479.

But we must now proceed eastwards with the Pombeiros. Three days from the Lualába, they forded the Bacasacála, which runs into the former, and consequently belongs to the basin of the Lulúa. Ten or eleven days further on they crossed in a canoe the Luvíri, twenty-four yards wide, and joining the Luapúla, which was now on the right hand, or to the south. As to the streams met with in the interval, we know not to what basin they belong. Passing for four days over the mountain of Conda Irungo, the road descended along the river Lutipúca, which forms at its junction with the Luapúla, a marsh of great extent and periodically dry; when seen by our travellers, it was covered with wild animals of many kinds. On the twenty-fifth day from the Lualába, the Pombeiros crossed the Luapúla, 112 yards wide, and lodged with Tambo Aquilala, the lord of the port or ferry. With respect to the river, they only remark that they know not whither it goes. Thus far from the river Catomta their course had been eastwards, but they now turned a point or two north-eastwards, and had, in December, the sun on the right hand. Continuing their route down the right bank of the Luapúla, they came in a day to the village of Pemba, the Cazembe's sister, where they were hospitably regaled with fish and pombe or beer. Messengers dispatched to the capital to announce the arrival of the strangers, returned in a few days with the prince's welcome, and a present consisting of a goat, some cassava, fresh fish, and a slave girl. They then resumed their march, and in three days reached Lucenda, the town of the Cazembe.

This town stands at a short distance from the Luapúla, on the northern bank of a broad marsh or lagoon called the Mouva, which receives the waters of several small streams, the Canegóa, Lunda, &c., and is connected with the Luapúla a little further down to the N. E. Being nearly surrounded by rivers and marshes, it enjoys security from sudden attack, but is extremely unhealthy, on which account its site has been changed more than once, but never so as to remove it effectually beyond the reach of the pestilent influence. Though this place has been visited by two Portuguese expeditions, one conducted by Lacerda in 1799, the other under Major Monteiro in 1831, the former remaining nine, the latter, four months in the country, yet we have acquired no exact geographical information respecting it. The accounts of those expeditions, so far as any are published, barely allude to the Nhanja, or sea on the east, but they furnish no particulars in relation to the sea, or to the communications with it; nor do they speak of the course of the Luapúla below Lucenda, nor of the nations north of, or beyond that river. In short, they are strongly characterized by ignorance and indifference to the interests of science. Lacerda, who seems to have been animated by a better spirit, died unfortunately just as he reached his journey's end.

The Angolan Pombeiros, or, at least, one of them, Pedro João Baptista, continued the route from Lucenda to Téte on the Zambéze, and the journal also, in a uniform manner. The details furnished by this journal need not be formally recounted, since being

no longer the sole source of information, it holds but a secondary rank; yet it is highly important, as furnishing proof of the perfectly equal rates of march of the Pombeiro and of the Portuguese traveller, whose journey we now proceed to relate. The Portuguese government selected for the task of exploring the road from Téte to the Cazembe, Dr. Francisco Josè de Lacerda e Almeida, who, during his travels in the interior of Brazil, had shown himself to be a good observer, and well acquainted with the use of instruments. To facilitate his preparations, he was appointed governor of the Rios de Sena.

On the 3rd July, 1798, Lucerda started with a very large retinue from the northern bank of the Zambéze, opposite to Téte, and passing for two days through the estates of the Portuguese crown, entered the country of the Marávis, or independent native chiefs.* The fifth day brought him to Mashinga, in lat. 15° 19′ 15″ S. On the seventh he arrived at Lupáta, or the defile, where the district of Bíve terminates. On the tenth, which brought him to Java, he twice crossed the Aruángoa, which, he remarks, is a great river, but he says nothing of its course or destination. On the 7th August, the fourteenth day, he halted near the town of Mocanda, a chief of the Mutumbúca, having crossed the rivers Rúi and Búe, running eastwards to the Shíre. On the banks of the Uzeréze, another affluent of the Shíre, he met with natives whose traffic extended to Mozambique. Here it deserves to be specially

* Annaes Marit. 1844, p. 338.

noted, that Lacerda had so far marched but fourteen days out of thirty-six, yet his followers, it seems, were horrified at the thought of marching ordinarily $2\frac{1}{2}$ (Portuguese) leagues, or about $9\frac{1}{3}$ statute miles a day. This is a weighty comment on the long marches frequently introduced into African itineraries. The country gone over was generally dry, and the water in the village wells as white as milk. The soil seemed poor, though it supplied the natives with a sufficiency of millet, yams, and batatas.

The direction of the route, which had been hitherto N.N.W., now turned more westward. The town of Mocanda's son, Caperaméra, reached on the nineteenth day, was large and populous, and thronged with Movíza, driven southwards by famine. The twenty-first march was over hills, the highest yet met with, ranging generally W.N.W. and E.S.E. These hills separate Caperamera (the Mutumbúca) from Massé (Muáza). The rugged tract being crossed, the march went over the territory of Mazavamba, and on the twenty-sixth day (the fifty-fourth, halts included) ended at the river Aruángoa. This river was now, in the dry season, about $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet deep and 35 yards wide, though owing to the mouldering banks, its width seemed very variable. On its northern bank, close to the water, grew large trees, the first seen on the journey. Many traces were found of Movíza hunters, who kill the hippopotamus for food. Lacerda had intended to send a party down this river in a canoe, but found on examination that it is not navigable in the dry season. He also remarks that this was the third river which

he knew of, named Aruángoa; one being to the S. of the Zambéze; another a few days N. of it.

Beyond the Aruángoa, the tracks of elephants grew frequent. On the thirtieth day (the fourth from the river) the route led over the Serra Muchingue, which is said to extend from the Shíre to Zumbo (on the Zambéze), or, in other words, to follow the left bank of the Aruángoa. This part of the journey was extremely harassing. Trees and bogs hindered the march; the country was dreary, the nights very cold, the day burning hot. When we are told that there was no change in the face of the country from Téte, we must understand that rugged bush and low thicket continued to be its chief features; that there was no large timber, no smiling or luxuriant landscape. On the thirty-first day a spacious valley was entered, filled with villages of Movíza, clad in cloth of bark, and with frizzled heads well powdered with a bright red dust, derived from wood. The millet harvest being just ended, the people were all intoxicated with the newly made pombe or beer; but the villages generally bore marks of poverty and wretchedness, the country having suffered from famine. Here Lacerda repeats the remark which he had previously made, that there is no salt in these countries. The Movíza procure their salt either from Téte, or from the Cazembe. After passing over a succession of ridges, alternating with narrow swampy plains, our traveller reached on the thirty-ninth day (the thirteenth from the Aruángoa) the (New) Zambéze. "Here," he says, "end the famished territories of those frizzled and periwigged people

(the Movíza)." The Zambéze, flowing to the left, was fifty yards broad and four or five feet deep. The Musocúma in the camp, when asked where this river goes to, replied, that it joins the river (the Luapúla) which runs close by the Zimboe (Zimbáwe, royal residence) of the Cazembe. The Musocúma dwell on the shores of the Nhanja or Lake.*

A little beyond the New Zambéze, a narrow but deep affluent of that river was forded, the name of which we find written, Rucurue (ruçurue or risúro).† And now the look of the country was totally changed. The hills which had confined the view from Téte to the New Zambéze, were at an end, and a nearly level plain extended to the horizon. The first night beyond the river was spent in the large town of Chimimba Campéze, where some Movízas were met with, who were engaged in conveying the Cazembe's ivory to the east coast. After wading through a wide marsh, the expedition arrived on the forty-second day at the town of the Fumo Chipáco, a subject of the Cazembe. This was the largest and most populous town seen as yet. The chief courteously assured the strangers that all that he possessed was at their disposal. After a day's rest, the march was continued, through an undulating tract, succeeded by a low plain overspread with stagnant waters. On

* Ann. Marit. 1845, pp. 111, 115.

† The name Risuro, used by Lacerda more than once, and written Rucurue, Rucuro, &c., is a Mucamango word, meaning waters or river. The streams, called by him Risuro, are named by the native travellers, — the Angolan Pombeiro and the Cazembe's ambassador, — Lueña or Rueña, which has the same meaning.

the forty-seventh day, the expedition, crossing the river Ruanzéze, arrived at the town of Mouro Achinto, where the district of Chipáco terminates. Here Lacerda learned that "towards the N., and between the Musocúma, who are on the banks of the Shíre or Nhanja, and the Movíza, are the Auémba, who, as well as the Musocúma, are enemies of the Cazembe. The Arambes or Ambos, to the S., are his friends." The country was now covered with large trees, which reminded Lacerda of the forests of Brazil. Elephants appeared numerous. From Mouro Achinto the Portuguese were obliged to make a forced march of seven days to Lucenda, over a country for the most part desolate. They soon came to a small hamlet, where they tasted some delicious *sura* or palm wine, and learned that its inhabitants were bound to deliver at the Cazembe's dwelling, every third day, fresh *sura*, made of the wild palm called Uchinda. A tract of undulating ground, rugged and stony, but not very elevated, interrupted for nearly a day the wide swampy plain. On the fiftieth day, a native remarked, that on the left was the Great lagoon which he and Manoel Caetano (the creole trader who first drew attention to this country) had crossed in their last journey. Further on, the villages were found to be deserted on account of the lions. At length, on the 2nd October, the fifty-fourth day of the march (the ninety-second from starting), the expedition arrived at Lucenda, but its entry into the town was forbidden until the Cazembe should have gone through certain propitiatory ceremonies.

As the selection of Lacerda for the command of this expedition was due chiefly to his reputation as a scientific traveller, and as the importance to be attached to his route depends much on his observations connected with it, it appears expedient to give here the short list of those observations, with some comparative data, and a few remarks.

	Lacerda.		Charts.	
	Lat. S.	Long. E.	Lat.	Long.
	° ′ ″	° ′ ″	′ ″	° ′ ″
Tangálane Point (mouth of the Cuáma) - -	18 0 18		18 1 4	37 1 5
Quilimáne - -	17 54 24	36 34 3		
Chupanga (on the south bank of the Zambéze) -	18 18 0	35 15 18	18 0 18	
Sena - - -	17 39 50	34 45 4	17 30 0	35 15 0
Island of Mosambique (in Lupata) - -	16 30 58			
Mashinga (the hill)	15 19 15			
Mazavamba -	12 33 0	32 18 18		
Mouro Achinto -	10 20 35	30 1 48		

The first point that strikes us is, that Lacerda places Chupanga, on the southern bank of the river, nearly 18′ further S. than recent observers. But here it must be remarked, that the discrepancy in question might have originated in a slight clerical error, or editorial oversight, by confounding 18′ with 18″; nor is it easy to say positively which party is in the right, since there is no absurdity in supposing the river to wind much to the S. The latitude of Sena in Owen's

charts, 17° 30′ S., rests merely on estimated distances, for Lieut. Browne made in fact no observations in Sena. The long. 35° 15′ E., in the same charts, is likewise an estimate, founded apparently on Portuguese data, and increasing to 106 miles, the distance between Quilimane and Sena, which Lieut. Browne concluded to be only ninety miles. Consequently, though Lacerda's observations near the coast have not been confirmed, neither have they been satisfactorily convicted of error. In fact, the position of Sena was not determined by Lieut. Browne in any respect, and is still uncertain. In ascending to Téte, we find the commencement of Lupata, or the Narrows, at the little island of Mosambique, in lat. 16° 30′ S., which shows that the course of the river here is more from the N. than has been supposed. Respecting the position of Téte, Lacerda has unfortunately left no observation. We have shown elsewhere that this place cannot be further from Sena by the river than the latter place is from Quilimane.* By means of this distance, therefore, the latitude of Mosambique on the way, and the latitude of Mashinga, five or six days N. of Téte, we can place it, without risk of great error, in lat. 16° 15′ S., long. 33° 42′ E. At Mazavamba and Mouro Achinto, Lacerda observed occultations of Jupiter's satellites, and the longitudes deduced from those observations are here adopted without change. Their correctness must depend

* Journal of the Royal Geographical Society, vol. xv. 1845, p. 229.

mainly on the going of his chronometer and the vigilance exercised in rating it; and as he travelled under circumstances very unfavourable for scientific pursuits, exhausted with fever, and worried by a crowd of turbulent followers, his work was probably not faultless; still, his observations cannot be so incorrect as not to prove valuable approximations in a region where we have no other guidance. At all events, we must not allow them to be swept away to make room for gross fabrications.

Lacerda began the preparations for his journey by collecting and arranging the information of Manoel Caetano Pereira, the Creole trader who first ventured to visit the Cazembe. This journey northwards had occupied ninety-five days, halts of course included. In February, 1798, an Embassy from the Cazembe arrived at Tete and was cordially received by Lacerda. The African Prince urged the Portuguese to build a town on the Aruángoa and to plant manioca, that they might be able to deal with him on a larger scale, and to send their goods, not by single traders at a time, but in caravans. Catára, the intelligent chief of the Embassy, gave a circumstantial account of his route, which he had performed in thirty-five days to Java, ten days (on Lacerda's march) from Tete. This was the fast travelling of natives unencumbered by baggage. These accounts of the route, compared with that of Lacerda, illustrate it often and confirm it throughout. But we have, besides, the journal of the Angolan Pombeiro, who, travelling in the rainy season, spent fifty-seven days on the road which Lacerda, in

the dry season, had gone over in fifty-four. This journal coincides perfectly, in important particulars, with that of Lacerda. Their occasional apparent variance in names or descriptions, arising from difference of dialect, of season, or of the mode of viewing objects, is always explicable and often instructive. With these materials before us, Lacerda's observations included, we feel justified in affirming that, in relation to the general Map of Africa, the route from Tete to Lucenda is established on perfectly satisfactory evidence, and must be considered henceforth as belonging to authentic geography. Its length measured on our map is 560 geographical miles, so that Lacerda marched at the rate of ten and one-third geographical, or twelve statute, miles a day. Lacerda's successor in the command of the expedition estimated the whole distance travelled at 270 leagues (eighteen to the degree); Major Monteiro, in 1831, with whose course we are unacquainted, increases the distance to 302 leagues. The former estimate accords well with our map, for we have uniformly found that the Portuguese league of route, reduced to protracted distance, makes two geographical miles.

The expedition arrived at Lucenda on the 2nd of October, and Lacerda, worn out with fever, died on the 18th. The command then devolved on the chaplain Father Francisco João Pinto, whose want of authority, however, soon became apparent in the intrigues and insubordination of his followers. The Cazembe, being vexed at the delay of his present, sent to draw two of Father Francisco's teeth; but this was

intended only as a hint, and the message was not even formally delivered. His subsequent treatment of the strangers was invariably mild and considerate, notwithstanding their frequent misconduct. They entered the fields and gardens and helped themselves; he, therefore, put them on rations of cassava: they insulted the women; he refused to punish them, as he had warned his people to guard against such occurrences. When he was dangerously ill, fearing the probable consequences of the licence that prevails at the sovereign's death, he sent to request his people not on any account to hurt the white men, but to respect them as merchants and strangers. Their request, however, to be allowed to proceed westwards to Angola, he parried by every means short of direct refusal. He assented at last to the proposal that two soldiers should be left behind, to await an opportunity of travelling westwards. These men were still in Lucenda when the Pombeiros arrived there in 1810. At an entertainment given by the Cazembe on his recovery, the chief performers in the dance were, besides the king himself (guarded by four armed men), his son, Prince Mueneputo (king of Portugal), and Shibúri or Shibuíri, Lord of the Salt-mines, who, having killed some strangers at the Lualaba, had sought refuge from the consequences of his misdeed at the court of his relative.*

The Cazembe exhibited to the Muzungos or white men (properly wise men), soon after their arrival, and

* Annaes Maritimos, 1845, p. 200.

evidently with a view to obtain information, the various contents of his private treasury. These were stuffs of several kinds, silk, velvet, woollen, and cotton, including some "printed calicoes of the North," probably Manchester goods; glass, porcelain, and packages of tea. Most of these articles had reached him from the eastern coast, the Banyans, as Lacerda frequently observes, being, in reality, the merchants of these countries. He had also a few muskets. The exports of the Cazembe are, slaves, ivory, skins of wild animals (leopard, macaço ape, zebra, &c.), copper bars, green stones, and salt. These are carried southwards by the Moviza, and probably reach Kílwa through Iáo or are carried across the lake to the Mucaranga. To the foreign goods imported in return through the same channels, the Moviza add a good deal of grass or bark cloth of their own manufacture. From the share which these people take in the inland traffic, it seems not unlikely that it is their country which bears the significant name of "Tanga," that is, cloth or money.* Among the curiosities shown to the Portuguese by the Cazembe, was a pig brought from Angola (the west), but in 1810 the Pombeiro saw in Lucenda several which had come from Tanga. The Cazembe possessed a herd of cattle, which were running wild and turned to no account. He would not eat their flesh, because he conceived that horned cattle were *Fumos*, i. e. nobility, like himself, nor would he give

* The tanga was worth in the timé of Joao dos Santos about 4*d.* (Ethiopia Oriental, 1609, liv. i. fol. 53.) In most of the Zingian languages, from east to west, cutanga signifies to reckon.

away living kine, because he required all their blood for his medicines. His favourites sometimes feast on beef, but cows' milk and butter are luxuries still unknown to them.

The Cazembe's people, the Arunda or Alunda (in the singular M'runda), are described as tall, vigorous, and quite black.* They do not file their teeth, nor tattoo, nor mark themselves with scars. Their ordinary dress is a wrapper from the waist to the knee, fastened with a leathern belt. Their feet are covered with strung shells and polished stones, and their heads adorned with handsome feathers. On great occasions they wear a kind of very full shirt, with a tricoloured border and gathered in front, which is said to make a fine appearance. Occupying a very fertile country, where the rains are regular and abundant, they enjoy plenty without much labour. Their husbandry is obviously in the lowest condition, a few goats and fowls being their only stock. That their inattention to pastoral resources is attributable only to ignorance and ancestral habits, and not to the nature of their country, is evident from the increase of the Cazembe's herd. Their lakes and rivers supply a great abundance of fine fish, but they have not the art of salting it, which is the more remarkable, since fish, often quite fetid, is a very important article of the inland trade. The Portuguese recognised sea fish, of different

* A M'runda may of course be also called Mucarunda (native M'runda), written Micrunda in the Annaes Maritimos, 1845, p. 156. It is not improbable that this name signifies mountaineer; the Arunda have in fact come from the highlands.

kinds, in the markets of Lucenda, and were told on inquiry that they were brought from the Nhanzamputo or Sea of Portugal in the west. The staple food of the Arunda is cassava, or manioca, which is eaten at every meal and enters into every dish. They have also bananas of various kinds and yams, with other fruits and grains. The labours of the field, left wholly to the women, have no further object than the supply of actual wants.

This glance at the fields and gardens of Lucenda leads us to a topic which lies more properly within our scope. Since a boat can ascend the Zambéze against the current to Tete, a distance of less than 400 miles, we cannot reasonably suppose the river at that point to have an absolute elevation exceeding 600 feet. From the Zambéze to the Aruangoa, the country, though hilly, does not seem to present any steep or continual ascent. It does not appear that Lacerda, on reaching the Aruangoa, abandoned the idea of its being navigable down to the Zambéze in the rains, which it could hardly be if it had a fall of 1000 feet. Beyond the Aruangoa rise the Muchingue Mountains; and at double the distance of that river from the dividing ridge flows the New Zambéze, which rises probably in the same heights as the Aruangoa, and, being at the place where it was crossed further from the ridge, may be naturally presumed to be at a lower level. Beyond the New Zambéze succeeds that sea-like level the noble trees and luxuriant vegetation of which reminded Lacerda of the forests of Brazil. This rapid sketch of a section of the country suggests that

the plains of the Cazembe have but a moderate elevation, and their vegetable productions warrant the same conclusion. For, to say nothing of the banana, of which only one or two species pass the limit of 3000 feet, while many kinds are said to grow wild round Lucenda, the manioca never succeeds above the absolute height of 3000 feet. But where it constitutes the staple article of food, where, with the other produce of the field, it is sowed and gathered at all seasons of the year, and the custom is, when a stem is pulled, to plant another immediately in its stead, it is manifest that we must suppose it growing under the most genial circumstances and far below its extreme limit. Add to this, the excellence of the *Sura* or palm wine, which also indicates a low situation. From these considerations it may be concluded that the plains south of the Luapúla, do not exceed, but probably fall short of, an absolute elevation of 1500 feet.

It was in the early half of the last century (1740 ?), according to native traditions, that Ganga Abilonda, the son of a slave (officer) of the Muropúe, being appointed Lord of Quigíla or the Salt-marsh, carried his arms eastwards, and occupied Quichinga, which he now possesses, having driven out its original occupants, the Vacíra.* The title of Cazembe, assumed

* The names Vacíra and Vavúa appear, in the narratives before us, to come from the mouths of Arunda, who, it might be therefore concluded, form their gentile plurals by prefixing va, or perhaps the Sawáhili wa. But it is still more likely that these names have received from the narrators the form of the Mucaranga spoken at Tete. The Angolan Pombeiro, conforming to the usage of his own language, and also, we believe, of that spoken in Lucenda, makes the gentile plural in a, as in Arunda, Akosa.

by the conqueror, appears to signify Viceroy. The Cazembe is now wholly independent, yet he still affects to acknowledge the superiority of the Muropúe, whom, in submissive language, he styles Father. It exemplifies the looseness of the social and political fabric in Africa, that a vassal should be able not only to found for himself an independent sovereignty without regard to the authority of his superior, but that he should even carry off and annex to his new dominion the provinces entrusted to his care; and this, without any appeal to arms, or attempt to vindicate ancient rights. The Cazembe is now the sovereign of the mines of salt and copper, which appear to have been taken from the Muropúe without a struggle. This event, strange as it may appear, admits of a natural explanation. For if we suppose that Ganga Abilonda (Ganga means a priest or wizard) was a bold adventurer, versed in the superstitious arts which take a hold on the ignorant, and that he aspired to independence, the peculiar circumstances of his country on the Lualába were calculated to prompt and direct his ambition. There lie, beside the fountains of the great rivers, the sources of African commerce also, and the advantage was obvious of seizing the well-developed channel lower down, where the commerce divides into several branches. But this step made, the retention of the paramount authority over the mines followed as a matter of course, for in those countries there is no obedience beyond the reach of coercion; vassals at a distance are virtually independent; but the Lords of

the Mines preferred the new Eastern Chief to their ancient superior in the North, because, by virtue of his position, he was their chief customer. The dominion of the Cazembe in its widest sense extends 40 days westwards to the Lubúri; south-eastwards it reaches the New Zambéze, a distance of 20 days; but, at both extremes, it is probable that the local chief is rather to be called a tributary than a subject. It does not appear that his authority extends north of the Luapúla, below its junction with the Luvíri. On the east, his enemies, the Musocúma and Auémba, occupy the country between him and the lake. Respecting the country to the S. and S. W we have no information, but suspect that it embraces a great extent of marshy wilderness. In conclusion, since the Arunda have no pastoral and little agricultural industry, but still cling to the ancient habits of the mining districts, they cannot be suspected of emigrating and conquering merely for the sake of territorial possessions. Their object has evidently been to get possession of the channels of trade, and perhaps we shall not err much, if we suppose that the Cazembe's actual dominion extends but little from the beaten road of traffic, which, from the Lualába to Lucenda, and thence to the New Zambéze, has a length of about 500 miles.

In the progress of geography there is a wide interval between the process of creating a blank in a map by reducing exaggeration, and that of filling the same blank with exact details, scientifically established. We cannot expect to pass at a single bound from the preliminary step to absolute completeness. Our map

exemplifies an intermediate condition. All that a geographer can undertake in regard to unknown or little known countries, is to represent fully and truly their general relations in bearing and extent as far as research and sagacity can detect them. Now the position assigned in our map to Lucenda, lat. 9° 29′ S., long. 29° 16′ E., is not indeed incontestable, derived as it is from single astronomical observations, not themselves absolutely conclusive; yet it would be ridiculous to maintain that the error involved in that position can be such as to falsify seriously the representation of a country so little known. Considering the immense extent which we have to fill with particulars, arranged chiefly on probable and conjectural grounds, the approximation to certainty, in the case of that point, may be considered as fortunate. Retracing the route from Lucenda up the Luapúla, we perceive that it bends to the right on leaving the valley of that river, so as to ascend the highland nearly due west. In this course, we arrive at the Lualába, and continue on for a few days to the Catomta, where the road again bends to the right. But this district, Loval or Lobále, between the rivers Lubúri and Lualába, is remarkable alike from its position and productions. It stands at the head of two great valleys,—those of the Lulúa and Luapúla, descending in different directions, and along which passes, and probably always has passed, the main line of communication across the continent. At the same time, it supplies the highly prized minerals which quicken the traffic along that line. Features so

strongly marked are not easily missed, and, besides, this well-known land is distinctly pointed out to us from the east, the south, and the west. Its position, therefore, in the map is not likely to be affected by such an amount of error as can derogate materially from the essential truth of the representation. From the Lubúri, a journey of thirty-seven days reaches the capital of the Muropúe or Muata ya Nvo, which is again connected with the Quango and Bomba's country, by a route respecting the uncertainty of which we have already spoken and need say no more. But whatever obscurity may hang over the western routes of the Pombeiros, this is manifest, that the nation of the Alúa and the Muropúe's kingdom occupy the great valley of the Lulúa, and that the map in which that fact figures preserves the essential truth.

Here it will be necessary to apprise the reader, that the town of the Muáta ya Nvo, which stands in our map in lat. 5° 50′ S., long. 19° 55′ E., is placed by M. Douville in the very heart of the continent, in the meridian of 25° E. of Paris (long. 27° 21′ E. of Greenwich), and close to the equator. It is true that his pretended lunar observation at the city which he calls Yanvo, fell on a day of new moon, and that his journey into the interior has been fully demonstrated to be a rank imposture. Yet, after a twenty years' acquiescence of the learned world in Douville's condemnation, Dr. Heinrich Berghaus steps forward to vindicate the charlatan, and to foist his fables on geography.* The

* Berghaus, Geographisches Jahrbuch, 1850, p. 8.

association of the names Douville and Berghaus is itself surprising, and but for the respect which we have habitually entertained for the advocate, we should hardly deign to resume our strictures on his client. It appears that Dr. Berghaus himself, while the facts were fresh in his memory, admitted that Douville was an impostor; but then he alleges, forsooth, that "he never gave it as his own opinion that Douville had never been in Africa, and that his travels were all a fiction, as Cooley says, in so many words." It is with pain and astonishment that we find an experienced writer blundering in terms at once so flippant and emphatic. The reviewer, after recounting Douville's first journey from Loanda, which was confined to the countries immediately adjoining, and in alliance with, the Portuguese colony, and which occupies two-thirds of the whole work, proceeds in these words: "We do not mean to deny altogether the authenticity of this portion of M. Douville's narrative, but we feel convinced that there runs through the entire web a certain tissue of falsehood, which we shall hereafter endeavour to point out. His first journey we admit, was really performed," &c. &c.

Thus it appears that the reviewer did not deny that Douville had been in Africa; nay more, he hinted a suspicion that Douville had gone thither from Brazil on a slaving excursion—a suspicion which subsequently ripened into certainty. Since that time we have had opportunities of learning the opinion of merchants of Loanda, and other Portuguese well acquainted with Angola, on the point in dispute,

and we are in consequence obliged to retract the admission, that "Douville's first journey was really performed." In truth, he never went beyond the limits of the colony; perhaps not beyond the fair of Donde, near Cambambe, where he might easily have collected from the Pombeiros or native agents the materials of his fiction. It cannot be supposed that he visited Pungo Andongo, for the Roman Catholic missionaries describe that remarkable locality as an almost inaccessible mass of volcanic rocks, twenty-seven miles in circuit, and with thirty-two villages scattered over its surface; whereas, Douville reduces it to a ring of granite half a league in circuit. It is needless to return to the refutation of Douville's discoveries, or to show how little ingenuity or penetration he evinced in the treatment of his story. He does not appear to have ever even caught a glimpse of the truth. The important chief Bomba, whose seat lies southward, up the Coanza, is transferred by the romancing Frenchman to the opposite quarter, and figures in 2° N. of the equator. The vocabulary of the Bomba language, in which the words all end in *x* or *z*, is a transparent fraud; but we confess that we enjoy the sly humour with which its author inserted the exceptional words, *emugi*, king, and *namugi*, queen, evidently with an eye to the disputed orthography of the name Monoemugi.*

* It was Malte-Brun who, mentioning Mono-emugi, unfortunately added (Géogr. Univers. tom. v. p. 104.), "ou, selon une orthographe plus authentique, Mou-nimougi." For this, when it was written, there was no authority whatever, but Douville kindly prepared its confirmation. In Douville's first journey, he visited, he says (Voyage, &c. tom. iii. p. 131.), the state and town of Nano. There

But this topic leads us to a remark of some importance. While the learned world have agreed in rejecting Douville's narrative, they have, with unaccountable thoughtlessness, admitted the authenticity of his vocabulary of the Molua language. Now, there exists no direct intercourse between Angola and the Alúa; and if Douville did not visit the latter people, how could he have learned their language? He pretends to have been master of it, to have conversed familiarly in it with the Muata ya Nvo, and to have made his fruitless inquiries of the Cazembe and Quilimane envoys (!) through a Molua interpreter; yet he says not a word of the peculiar character of that language, and indeed his utter ignorance of it is sufficiently manifest. It would have been no difficult task to collect from Angolan Pombeiros specimens of a dozen kindred dialects; but M. Douville was at no trouble about the matter. He jumped to the conclusion that the Bunda or Angolan language and the Molua are closely related (which we believe to be incorrect), and so he framed a vocabulary of the one language from the other by certain arbitrary changes.* Take the following example: a soldier, he tells us, is, in the Bunda, *empacasseiro*, in the Moluan language *capacassero*. Now the prefixed *ca* is, in these

is no such state. Namno is the general name of the elevated country, occupied, in the part to which he refers, by the Quilengues.

* The history of the Jagas of Angola, given by the missionaries, is all fable. There is no reason to believe that they came from the interior. The frequent occurrence of the prefix *lu* in Moluan names, as Lulua, Luiza, Luconquesa, Luburi, Lualaba, &c., shows an affinity with the Congo rather than the Bunda language.

languages, the characteristic of diminutives, and is here obviously misplaced. Besides, the word *empacasseiro* is not genuine Bunda, but a *Portuguese* derivative from *mpacasse*, a large species of antelope (the Gnú ?), and signifies properly not a soldier, but a hunter. We may rest assured; therefore, that the word *capacassero* is unknown to the Alúa. Those who have given any attention to the Angolan and cognate tongues, must perceive at once that the second word of the royal title, Muáta Yanvo or Yambo, is a substantive with the prefixed particle *ia* or *ya*, answering to our *of*. The whole ought to be written Muáta ya Nvo, but Douville, unequal to this simple analysis, mistakes the phrase and calls the capital of the country, Yanvo. Again, he calls the queen's town Tandi a vua. Here we have Bunda words put together without grammar; for neither in that nor any kindred tongue, are roots ever used without a characteristic and defining prefix. In this case the expression should have been *kitandi kiavúa*, the rich market. In like manner, the naked root *zambi*, spirit, could never be used, in those languages so rich in distinctive forms, to signify the Mountain of Spirits; and it is plain that M. Douville learned it, not from the Alúa, but from the Portugese, who, in fact, give that name to an extinct volcano visible southwestward from Cambambe. The name of Lake Couffoua is equally objectionable, for *cufúa* (or rather *cúfŭa*, in the passive form) is the infinitive mood of the verb and signifies *to die*. The participle, in connection with *kalunga*, sea, would be *kiáfu*. We

shall say nothing of the absurdity of a dead sea, which pours forth eight living streams. Finally, the Bunda words, "Mulundu ya caiba visumba," translated by M. Douville "Mountains of bad smells" (a native would describe those mountains in one word), would, if wedded to Bunda grammar, become "Milundu ya masumba maaiba." Thus it is obvious that the pretended Molua names given by M. Douville, were in reality fabricated, on a French pattern, from a Bunda vocabulary, by one who had no insight into the Bunda language. These remarks will suffice, we hope, to make linguists pause before they found any speculations on so insecure a basis as M. Douville's vocabularies.

Perhaps Dr. Berghaus, who is but superficially acquainted with Douville's Travels or with the Review of them, is ignorant also of the revelations made respecting the career of that adventurer. Much curious information on that subject may be found in the Foreign Quarterly Review, No. 19, 1832, and the three following numbers, and we can add something more. Douville was better known in London than in Paris. He arrived in the latter city in 1826 from his travels of some years, by his own account, in the remote East. But the fact is that he lived in London from 1819 to 1823, teaching the French language, under the name of Le Comte, though known to confidential friends as the Marquis de Douville. He married an industrious woman. In 1823 his wife died; his house which was insured took fire; he pocketed the amount of the damage done and went

off—in debt. He did not, however, go to the remote East. He fixed himself as a teacher, under a new and more romantic name, in an opulent town in a remote part of these islands. Finding himself in the midst of a religious community, he pretended to be a Calvinist minister, though educated in the Polytechnic school, and, as a boy, a favourite of the emperor Napoleon. With these tales and accounts of his travels he amused his simple hearers.

In 1825 he married, pocketed his wife's small fortune, and decamped. This anecdote, together with some other matters related in the Foreign Quarterly Review, No. 22., will help to explain why, in his volume entitled "Trente Mois de ma Vie," Douville remained perfectly silent as to the charges made against him on this side of the Channel, and, while furious under the assaults of his countrymen, succumbed without murmuring to the heavy blows dealt him by English critics. But the fact was, that here he dared not confront his antagonists; his personal identity being once ascertained, he was liable to actions at law.

If Dr. Berghaus, with the aid of the preceding statements, should arrive at a just appreciation of Douville's geographical labours, we have no doubt that he will feel heartily ashamed of the cause which he now gratuitously advocates. But should he wish to amend his map of Africa, it will not be enough to erase from it totally all trace of Douville's discoveries; he must furthermore sacrifice all those affectations of improvement on which he particularly prides himself. He must discard those Mountains of the Moon,

arranged along the eastern side of that continent, in direct contradiction of all authority. And again, between Bornu and the Quorra, he has adopted views which have nothing to recommend them but their incomparable absurdity. Clapperton is our chief and sufficient guide respecting the Yeou, which runs into Lake Chad; he made an excursion up that river, pointed out where its sources are said to be, descended again along the river's banks, and rode across the bed of the stream, near its mouth, where it was quite dry; yet, in the face of this clear testimony, the theory is propounded that the Yeou flows into the river Chadda. But then there is a ridge of highland between Bornu and the valley of the Chadda. Oh! the theorist digs an alluvial valley through the mountains. But Lander crossed a number of streams running from that highland towards the Quorra. "Oh! these streams," says the theorist, "were but the windings of the one great river." And yet it appears to us that, when a man crosses a river several times in succession, he goes alternately from the right bank to the left and from the left to the right, the stream flowing accordingly; and, therefore, as all the streams crossed by Lander flowed from left to right, they were of course separate rivers. Well might Dr. Barth exclaim, in reference to this theory, "W. Allen's opinion on this subject seems to me almost incredible."* But the wonder really is, that a bare paradox, opposed to authority and common sense, should have been fostered

* Athenæum, No. 1263., January 10, 1852.

by the Royal Geographical Society, and be adopted by Dr. Berghaus after fifteen years spent in weighing its merits. The geographer ought to prefer truth to every temptation; and it is only by a just fatality that Dr. Berghaus, the would-be reviver of Douville, has published, in 1850, the worst map of Africa produced for a century and a half.

Having thus traced the route through the interior from Angola to the Zambéze, and shown that on the left of that route from Lucenda, a long way south-eastwards, the existence of a great sea or lake (Nhanja), at no great distance, is distinctly indicated, we now proceed to explore the shores of that sea from the eastern side. The road from Kílwa to Iáo (the Jáu of the Portuguese) goes S.W. for a month to the Livúma, a great river, navigated in large canoes, capable of containing thirty people. From the Livúma, it passes through Kingombe, the seat of a Marávi or independent chief, to Lukelingo, the capital of Iáo, in fifteen days. West from Lukelingo, at a distance of seven days' journey, is Njésa, a remarkable mountain, densely peopled in small hamlets, from the summit of which, Nyassa or the Lake may be seen, seven or eight days distant. Thus, according to Nasíb, the Miáo (native of Iáo) who gave this account, the Lake or N'yássa, at the foot of Njésa, is two months' journey distant from Kílwa. His master, Khamís ben Othmán, a Sawáhili, thought that the distance might be travelled in a month, but Nasíb, who had no idea of rapid marching, and who laid much stress on the labour of dragging tusks of

ivory, and carrying cakes of wax, would only admit that the time of the journey might be reduced to six weeks. His day's journey may be reckoned at six miles, and the distance of Nyassa from Kílwa, by the route indicated, 370 miles.*

The correctness of Khamís's estimate has been proved by an Arab, the Sheríf Mohammed ben Ahmed, who travelled from Mozambique to Nyassa, by Iáo, a distance certainly not less than from Kílwa to Nyassa, in thirty-three days.† He did not start from Mesuril (the Msoríro of the natives), opposite to Mozambique, but from the native village of Sembe, a day's journey further north on the coast, probably to elude the Portuguese, who view with jealousy the movements of Arabs and Banyans, within the range of their trade and influence. On the tenth day he crossed the Lori, evidently the Luria, a fine stream, entering the sea in lat. 13° 31′ S. On the fifteenth he arrived at Meto, the capital of the Makúa or Mókkŭa, as he calls them, with the vulgar Portuguese accentuation. The twenty-second day brought him to the banks of the Livúma, so that he evidently travelled a circuitous road; whence it may be suspected, that, owing to the incursions of the slave-hunting Makúa, who are supplied by the Portuguese with fire-arms, the access to Iáo, on the Mozambique side, is closed against strangers. He soon after entered the populous and well-cultivated hill country of Iáo, and lodged in a village of Muca-Iáo (that is, natives of or dwellers

* Journal of the Royal Geographical Society, vol. xv. p. 199.

† Athenæum, No. 1255., November 15, 1851.

in Iáo), whence he named the place, Mokoiyaiha. On the twenty-sixth day he crossed the river Lyyinde, in which we easily recognise the name of Lukelingo; for the Portuguese, and probably Makúa, abbreviation of this name, Luilhim (the lh being a liquid, the final m a nasal sound), would be naturally changed, by one used to the Sawáhili soft, liquid sounds, into Luiyindhyo, or, as we find it written, Lyyinde.* Passing over the skirts of Njésa, and viewing the remains of an ancient road called Mulíla, running from north to south, and which is the boast and wonder of the country (perhaps it is an ancient beach of Nyassa), he arrived on the thirty-third day at Moála, on the shores of the Lake. Three days further north, he says, is Ngombo, the great mart of Nyassa, and opposite to Ngombo, on the west side of the Lake, is the capital of the Sultan of Nyassa. He heard, also, of another extensive lake, called Timbáze, distant about a month's journey to the west. The lake thus alluded to, we shall show further on to be situate to the S. W. Mohammed ben Ahmed appears to have travelled at the rate of twelve and a half geographical miles a day.

Our information respecting the route, from the coast near Kílwa or Zanzibar, to Oha in Moenemoézi, not far from the Lake, is fortunately not only circumstantial, but authentic also, and as certain as geographical statements can be in the absence of scientific observations. To say nothing of the reports collected

* Let it be observed that we have here African names transmitted to us through an Arab and German in succession.

by early writers, and connecting the river of Kílwa with the Great Lake, or of the obscure and corrupt account of the Lufiji, given by Lt. Hardy, we have the testimony of three intelligent men, who have made the journey in question: viz. Khamís ben Othmán, a Sawáhili of great experience and natural ability, in the service of Sultán Seid S'aíd, and who accompanied Capt. Owen, during the survey of Eastern Africa, in the capacity of interpreter; Mohammed ben Nassúr, an aged Arab merchant of Zanzibar, whose map of the country betwen Kílwa and the Lake now lies before us; and Lief ben S'aíd, a native of Moenemoézi.* The last two state their days' journeys in detail, Mohammed reckoning seventy-one to Oha; Lief sixty-two to Ogára, four or five days from Oha, so that they differ in time only four or five days, but they took nearly the same road, and, with few exceptions, name the same stages. The Lake, according to Mohammed, is four days beyond Oha; Lief says that it is twelve days from Ogára; it thus appears to be from seventy to seventy-five days from the starting point on the coast. The statements of these three men agree perfectly in all essential particulars.

The road from Oha to the coast is trodden annually —and has been so trodden perhaps for centuries—by the Mucaranga of Moenemoézi, who descend in large numbers at a time. Many of them are accompanied by their wives and families; their goods are packed on asses, and the time occupied by the journey, down and back again, including a short stay on the

* Journal of the Royal Geographical Society, vol. xv. p. 371.

coast, is usually eleven months. The main body of these people, generally about 6000, encamp on the coast opposite to Zanzibar, between Buromáji and Sadána, or about the mouth of the Ruvú. 2000 or 3000 go to Kílwa, and a few hundreds spread northwards as far as the Pangáni. As to the direction of the route, Lief ben S'aíd alone expressly indicates it. Leaving the coast in September, his course for the first month was two points south of the setting sun, *i. e.* of the equator; and for the other three and a half months in the direction of the setting sun. These data, rigorously constructed, would make the direction of the road to Oha W. 16° S. That the road in question inclines southwards is incontestable. The traders who start from the neighbourhood of the Pangáni to join the Moenemoézi caravans, have to fight their way through the Wadóa, a barbarous tribe due west of Zanzibar; consequently, their course is S. W. And, in like manner, the path from Kilíma in Chága, to Moenemoézi—if there be indeed such a path—goes first to the Wanderóbo, that is, it goes S. W.; but there is no authenticated trace whatever of a frequented road to Moenemoézi, except that by the rivers Ruvú and Lufiji, and the projects and theories which suppose that country connected with Mombas have been conceived in total ignorance of facts.

From Buromáji on the coast, in lat 6° 33′ S., the road leads the first day to Mazinga, through which flows the river known on the coast as the Majisíma, that is, the cool or spring water. On the eighth or

ninth day it crosses the Ruvú, flowing to the N. E., and recrosses the same river, which is large and thronged with crocodiles and hippopotami, fifteen days from the coast. Then, passing over the Rigúru hills and the country of the Roambi, it reaches Maróra in about thirty days. Maróra (*i. e.* trade), in the country of the Msagára, is the point of convergence of all the roads to Moenemoézi. The country near this place is periodically inundated by several rivers, the chief of which is the Lufiji. From Maróra the traveller onward enters the valley of the Great River (Mtó-ni, *i. e.* on or at the river), and continues along its northern bank for fifteen days to Sanga, passing through Powága. At Sanga the road leaves the river to the left. The name Siwáha here given to the river, is apparently an adjective derived from Wáha, the name of the people of Oha or Uha. Twenty days further on, when crossed at Sagózi, it is called Mangózi. From Sagózi, Ugára, on the same river apparently, is distant one day, and thence to Oha four days. Khamís ben Othmán declared that the river Siwáha, or, as he called it, the Lufiji, issues from the Lake and that he saw its outlet with his own eyes. But earnest and sincere as was his testimony, there is reason to believe that he was, in this case, misled by a kind of tacit sophistication which few can avoid; that he overlooked the incompleteness of his observations, which fell short of warranting his conclusion; and confounded an habitual opinion with an ascertained fact. Did he really trace the stream downward from the Lake, till he proved its identity

with the Siwáha, or did he not merely infer, more or less, both its course and continuity? Certain it is that the caravans from the coast never go westward beyond Oha, and that, of the native merchants who travel to Moenemoézi and hear of the Lake, very few ever see it. The distance from Oha to the Lake is but four days, and that short journey can be made, as Khamís himself testified, only in the rainy season, there being a total want of water during the last three days. This statement, and the apparent seclusion of the Lake from the traffic of Oha, seem irreconcileable with the existence of a communication between the waters of the Lake and any of the rivers here going eastward. Were there a continuous valley with a stream flowing through it from the Lake, there would be doubtless a line of population also and a road, and our intelligence respecting this portion of the Lake would be more ample and decisive. Since the current of the Lufiji is so strong that dows can ascend the river but a week's voyage and boats for only a month, it seems probable that its chief sources are above the level of Nyassa, which it has been shown is comparatively low. Perhaps the three waterless days' journey to the shore of the Lake descends a rapid declivity, whereon no water collects. If the waters of Nyassa, which are quite fresh, really flow into the Lufiji, it is not by the Siwáha, but by the river of Uranga or Lufiji proper of Ben Nassúr.

The river Rufiji or Lufiji above mentioned demands a brief consideration. Its mouths lie west of Monfia

Island, the chief of them, which bears the name of the river, being nearly in lat. 7° 56′ S. It is not more than 400 yards wide; but higher up, above the delta, the Lufiji is said to be a league wide, and during the floods it expands into a great sea. All accounts agree in representing it as the greatest river of Eastern Africa. Its banks are well peopled and the soil exceedingly productive, yielding two crops of rice or other grains in the year. On the south side of this river, at the head of the delta, are the Dengareko, whose houses are constructed on stakes at some height above the ground. These people and their neighbours carry fruits and vegetables down to Kílwa in their canoes, whence it may be concluded that, if the Kuávi or northern river of Kílwa be not a branch of the Lufiji, it at least drains a part of the country flooded by the latter. Hence the supposed connection between the Kuávi at Kílwa (formerly written Cuavo, and by corruption Çuabo and Suabo) and the great lake of the interior. The rumours of the great river at Kílwa all had reference to the Lufiji, which was itself never distinctly indicated; for its mouths, rendered almost unapproachable by the coral banks and islets besetting them, among which rush strong currents, remained long unknown to European navigators, and it is only recently that they have been marked in our charts.

The details of the empire of Moenemoézi, as it figures in our map, are mostly derived from the artless but communicative map of Mohammed ben Nassúr. The eastern frontier of Oha and Moene-

moézi is placed by him at Unangwéra, twenty days from the capital; Lief sets it at Suangára (*i. e.* the market), four days further west. The king of Oha (Mohammed calls him Tárè, or the lion) is one of the greatest kings in Moenemoézi, and exercises sway over many powerful chiefs. Further north are Usúi or Osówi, and Ucanga, both independent kingdoms, the capitals of which are situate, like Oha, at the head of the waters, near the M'ríma (mountain) or summit of the ridge whence the descent to the Lake begins. The most northern countries of Moenemoézi seem to be M'sarára and Púghè, the position of which we cannot venture to define, but must take care not to exaggerate by carrying them too far northwards. Mohammed's indication of the Lake goes as far as his knowledge of the people. North-eastward from Oha, he notes "the people who use brass wire." This may possibly allude to the Wakamba or Meremongáo, as the Sawáhili call them, who wear brass wire round their arms; but the use of brass wire is general among the Moenemoézi themselves. They twist it round the neck and over the breast, so that it resembles a coat of mail, and they never take it off. They also load their ears so heavily with copper, iron, or brass rings, that a band over the head is required to support these ornaments. On the western side of the Lake, where it is a three days' voyage across, and near Oha, Mohammed places Zangañika, whence copper and ivory are carried over to Moenemoézi. He distinguishes clearly between the Siwáha and the Lufiji; south of the former he places the kingdoms of Uyíyi or Uvinza,

and then Uranga at the sources of the latter river. Between the Lufiji and the great river (name unknown) which joins it from the south, is the mountainous country of Dwéwé, abounding in iron, and on that account much visited from Kílwa.

Uranga, placed by Mohammed ben Nassúr at the sources of the Lufiji, is obviously the Rouenga of early writers. There is reason to suspect that, from this part southwards, the eastern shores of the Lake become habitable, and that here begin the active navigation and commerce of Nyassa. Uranga, the most southern state of Moenemoézi, is apparently also the parent state. When the Sawáhili are questioned respecting the Wanyassa or people dwelling at the Lake, they name two nations or races, viz. the Mucamango and the Mucaranga. In these expressions, muca means native or inhabiting; the annexed word denotes the country inhabited. But the people of Moenemoézi are all Mucaranga, which undoubtedly means that they were originally dwellers in Ranga or (with the abstract particle) Uranga. In short, Uránga is the cradle of the race. That race has long since spread southwards over Monomatapa, and even to Inhambáne, where, however, it becomes mixed with a much ruder people, the Botonga. The Mucaranga (of Monomotapa) are described by João dos Santos, and other missionary writers well acquainted with Eastern Africa, as a well-disposed race, by no means devoid or incapable of civilisation.

At the present day, the two great branches of the Mucaranga are separated by a wide interval, from the

Lufiji to the Zambéze—which is occupied by tribes resembling the Makúa, and often named, from their chiefs, Marávi. These are probably the people called, by the Sawáhili, Mucamango, in the general sense of the word, which is also properly applied, however, to the immediate neighbours of the Mucaranga, on the shores of the Lake. We are told by Father Francisco, Lacerda's successor, that the Cazembe "always called the land of the Muzungos (Whitemen) Manga;" by this we must understand, that the Cazembe, from whom we must not expect geographical exactness, considered all the country south of the Movíza or of the river Aruangoa as subject to the Portuguese. We have seen that he wished them to settle on the banks of that river. Now, doubtless, he called the country beyond the Movíza, Manga or Mango, and the people Mucamango. The Movíza, according to Khamís ben Othmán, have the same marks as the Mucaranga (a dotted line on the nose and forehead), and resemble them in other respects. There is indeed much reason to believe that the Movíza, who are strongly and advantageously distinguished by industrious habits and physical characters from their immediate neighbours, are Mucaranga, who have been induced to settle on the barren hills south-west of the Lake, for the sake of the transit trade which may be thence carried on conveniently between the divided branches of their race, and also between the valley of the Luapúla and the southern end of the Nyassa. Thus they occupy an important post on the lines of traffic going N. and S., and E. and W., across the continent. Hence it is

that we find that famished land, as Lacerda calls their territory, designated by a term (Tanga) which undoubtedly signifies "wealth in money," and its inhabitants styled "the rich people" (Vavúa). Hence, also, those barren hills have attracted settlers from the trading countries to the east, and at last they have allured the Auemba, who, quitting their sequestered homes on the western side of the Lake, have dispossessed the Movíza. The family likeness existing between the southern Mucaranga and their northern kinsmen, did not escape the notice of the observant missionaries and is indicated by Anguiano.* The comprehensiveness of the name Mucaranga is implied in the remark of Dos Santos, that the people are so called because they speak the Mucaranga language.

It has been shown that the road from Buromáji (lat. 6° 30′) to Oha, the state or capital of Moenemoézi, to which the traders from the coast chiefly resort, goes nearly W. S. W., and we know that the commercial relations of that state with the coast formerly centered in Kílwa (lat. 9°). Oha, therefore, is probably situate between the seventh and eighth parallels, and nearer the latter. The geographers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, writing when these coasts were much frequented and were partially occupied by the Portuguese, tell us that Moenemoézi extends through the interior, from Embéoe opposite to the Querimba Islands, or the frontiers of the

* Epitome Historial, &c. del Imperio Abyssino, 1706, p. 30.

Mauruça (Makúa), to Guragué (in Abyssinia, at that time carried far south in the maps); or, in the language of Dos Santos, from Mongálo to Prester John. The middle point of the limits thus assigned on the coast was Kílwa. One or two writers of little comparative weight add, that Mombas was subject to Monemugi *, but that is undoubtedly erroneous; such a fact, if true, could not fail to have been mentioned by the Portuguese historians. After careful comparison of our early authorities, we conclude that the northern boundaries of the Moenemoézi were unknown to them. On the west of that country was the great lake two months from Congo, and described by Lopez. Those who adopted Pigafetta's theory of two lakes joined by a river (a modification of a single lake) placed Monemugi east of the joining river, or else on the southern and first Lake of Nilus, for that we are told was the seat of the Jagas who issued from Moenemoézi.

Giovanni Botero informs us that the Portuguese first heard of Moenemoézi towards the end of the sixteenth century (about 1589).† But this statement accords ill with the commercial importance, and great political superiority, ascribed a little later to that empire. It is more natural to suppose that, as soon as Europeans arrived on those coasts, they heard of the two only kingdoms or empires of any magnitude which ever existed there. These were the empires

* This statement is made by Linschoten, and repeated by Jarric.

† See the Journal of the Royal Geographical Society, vol. xv. p. 211.

of the Mucaranga. But Monomotapa was immediately discovered; why then should Moenemoézi have escaped notice? De Barros relates that, in 1503, Agi Hocem (Hájí Hussein), king of Kílwa, succeeded in destroying a hostile neighbour, by means of an alliance with a great king of the interior called Munha Munge, which title, he adds, means Lord of the world.* This Munha Munge is obviously the Muenhe Muge, Moenemugi, or Monomugi of subsequent writers.†

* Decade I. x. fol. 207. Giov. Botero, Della Relationi Universali, 1592 p. 310.

† The Sawáhili pronounce either Moénemoézi (Mwéne Mwézi) or Mánamoézi, and write the latter, but probably their practice is not invariable. The name of the moon is written mézi, not moézi. They sometimes form a personal plural Wanamoézi after their fashion, just as we would add an s, but they do not pretend to vindicate the correctness of the expression, which is in fact but a makeshift. They apply the same name to the country and to the individual native of it, and know nothing of the word uniamoézi, or, as Dr. Krapf writes it, uníamesi. This word, which Dr. Krapf, who coined it, renders "possession of the moon," rests on abuse of analogy, and an imperfect perception of the first principles of the language, and is a flagrant specimen of mission-house jargon. There is no such word as *unia*, possession, and no two Zingian nouns can be welded together in the German fashion without a visible joint. It says nothing for such fabricated words, that natives will adopt them. The African, who speaks without rule, is sadly perplexed when questioned about grammatical niceties, and will say anything to escape worrying. Natives round a European will adopt any jargon that meets his wishes or capacity. The Portuguese in Africa soon learned that, in the names Mono-motapa and Monoemugi, the first word Mono, Muna, or Muene implies a sovereign. The king of Portugal is known across the continent as Muene Puto. In two of these examples the second word is the name of the territory (Motapa and Puto, or Portugal). Then why not in the third also? If Muenemoézi be the "possessor of the moon,"

The earliest allusion to the Great Lake appears to be that which occurs in the Suma de Geographia, 1518, of the Spaniard Fernandez de Enciso, who writes as follows: "The people of Manicongo say, that their river (the Zaire) has its source in the Mountains *of the Moon*, from a great lake, and that from the same lake there rises another river greater than theirs, and which flows in the opposite direction, *and that this latter river is the Nile.*" The words here given in italics were evidently the comments of European erudition and never formed part of the original intelligence. Next comes the Portuguese historian, João de Barros, who informs us that, "the great lake, accounts of which have been received both in Congo and Sofálah, is 100 leagues long, and sends forth three rivers, viz. the Tacuy, the Zaire, and the Zembére, which lower down is called the Cuama."* The Tacuy he identifies with the Nile of Ptolemy; so far his conception is clear, but, at the same time, through a singular misapprehension, he separates the Bahr el Azrek—the river which he has in view—from the Abanhi, or Ábáï, or, as it is commonly called, the Abessinian Nile. The explanation of his error, and of the origin of the name which he gave the river,

surely his territory is the moon, and not the "possession of the moon." This moonstruck etymology exhibits sad drivelling. The Sawáhili have no idea of any connection between Moenemoézi and the earth's satellite. The Zingian auxiliary verb (ana) is at once possessive and substantive, to have and to be. It is in the latter sense undoubtedly that it enters into the title of royalty. It is thus used even in the first person singular, as in the name Dingan.

* Decade I. x. Zembére is so accented in the first edition.

would lead us too far from our present purpose. It will be sufficient to observe, as a proof of his mistake, that though Abessinia was filled for a century later with Portuguese missionaries, who collected and published much information respecting that country, and though no historian has ever been more justly popular or more freely quoted than De Barros, yet we hear nothing more of the river Tacuy. The Nile had a kind of prescriptive title to a share of the great lake heard of between Congo and Sofálah, but the writings of the missionaries in Abessinia, and the glaring mistake of De Barros, tended to raise doubts of that title; and in the popular conception the lake was allied more intimately with the other two rivers. In erudite and theoretical language it was called the Lake of Nilus. Marmol named it Lake Zaire; and, indeed, he even called the Zambéze itself the Zaire.* But use is averse from fluctuation; and the name Zembére (whether miswritten for, or a dialectic variation of, Zambéze, we cannot say), being first corrupted into Zémbere and Zambre, finally prevailed.†

It must, however, be observed, that the leading and original authorities, such as De Enciso, De Barros, Do Couto, Pigafetta, and Dos Santos, describe the lake without ever naming it. It was from geographical compilers and theoretical writers alone that it ob-

* Marmol, Descripcion de Africa, vol. iii. fol. 38.

† The letters *r* and *z* are continually interchanged in the cognate tongues of Southern Africa. Thus we find *kazi* or *kari*, a female; *pizi* or *piri*, a wolf; *buzi* or *buri*, a sheep, &c. &c.

tained its title of Lake Zambre. Dos Santos was the first who wrote Zambéze correctly, informing us, at the same time, that the river takes that name because, "on issuing from the Great Lake, it passes through a town or people so called." * Here it is evident, that, through ignorance of the sources of the river, two different rivers, the Old and New Zambéze, are confounded; that the stream was supposed to flow from the lake through the country of the Movíza or M'bíza, and to take its name from them. This explanation, erroneous as it is, shows the general belief in the connection between the river and the lake. Dos Santos himself believed in it; yet, by writing Zambéze instead of Zembére, he veiled their historical connection from the vulgar eye. The relationship of the river Zambéze to the Lake Zambre, which identifies the latter with Nyassa, ceased to be apparent. And here it may be observed, that the language to which the name Zambre belongs, admits few double and no triple consonants, and almost invariably accentuates the penultimate syllable. Names violating these rules, therefore, such as Zámbere and Zambre, cannot belong to that nor any cognate language. The name Ambríz, in Congo, we know to be the European corruption of Mbiríge. The Vambre or Umbre, named by Labat as a branch of the Zaire flowing directly from the lake, is not mentioned by De Barros, nor Lopez, nor Cavazzi; so that it may be easily recognised as the coinage of the missionaries in Congo,

* Historia de Ethiopia Oriental, 1609, ii. fol. 44.

who formed the singular Uambre from the supposed plural Zambre.

When De Barros described the Great Lake, with its three outflowing rivers, he added the express warning, that it is not to be confounded with the Barcena (Bahr Tsana), or Abyssinian lake. This warning, however, availed little; the forbidden confusion took place immediately, and in maps the Barcena figured generally as the southern lake. But, in the mean time, Lake Dembea (which is, in truth, the same as the Bahr Tsana) kept its own place. The Abyssinian lake, having two names, split into two; the real lake, Dembea, staid at or above the equator; the shadow, Barcena, went 12° further south, and the Abyssinian origin of its name was probably soon lost sight of. When a sensible writer, therefore, such as Dos Santos, who knew Lake Dembea, speaks also, in the language of his day, of the southern lake Barcena, we have no right to accuse him of grossly misplacing the Abyssinian lake; his error is not one of misconception, but rather of the abuse of names. Examples of errors quite as gross may easily be found in the current geography of the present day. Learned volumes have been written on the geography of Northern Africa, money expended, great reputations achieved, and what is the result? After all, we are now giving the name of a Mauritanian river, the Nigir, to a river of Negroland flowing to the bight of Benin.

The testimony of Lopez, who spent some years in Congo, is clear and distinct: — "In all this country *there is but the one lake*, and that lies at the confines

of Angola and Monomotapa."* To this plain statement of Lopez, Pigafetta adds a commentary, which clouds and contradicts it. He maintains that there are in reality two lakes. "From the first lake," he says, "which lies in lat. 12° S., the Nile in reality takes its rise." This lake, being peopled with the Cafates, is of course to some extent Abyssinian in his conception. He thus proceeds:—"From this lake the Nile runs due N. 400 miles, and enters into a second and much larger lake, 220 miles over, and which the natives call a sea. This is under the equator. Of this second lake unequivocal information is obtained from the Anzichi, near Congo, who trade thither," &c. Now, that the lake described by the Anzichi (Anziko) was different from that heard of in Angola, was clearly Pigafetta's own assumption, and no part of his substantive information. In the distorted geography of his day, the Anziko, occupying the hilly country on the Zaire, opposite to Sundi, were generally described as reaching from the Zaire to Nubia. The geography of the Zaire founded on missionary narratives was so exaggerated, that Monsol, the capital of the Anziko or of Makoko, was placed even by D'Anville at least 700 miles from its true place. Labouring under this misconception, Pigafetta sets the lake due E. of the Anziko, or under the equator. But to understand the source and nature of his error, we have only to compare him with Dapper, who derived his information from the

* Relatione del Reame di Congo, 1591, p. 79.

same quarter. "East of Makoko," says this writer, "and somewhat to the S., is the kingdom of Monemuge. . . . On the borders of Pombo (the interjacent country), as the Blacks tell the Portuguese, is a lake which they call a sea, with numerous islands," &c.* Thus it appears that the lake of the Anziko is the sea (Nyassa) W. of Moenemoézi, the only lake, according to Lopez, known in those countries. Doubtless Pigafetta had some sly motive for finding a lake under the equator, and sagaciously conjecturing that Prete Gianni was not far off. A few years later, the Jesuit Nicolas Godinho stated distinctly that from the shore of Lake Dembea both celestial poles might be seen at once, the south pole being rather the more elevated, which is equivalent to saying, that some spot near that lake is under, or a little south of, the equator.† He does not name his authority for this observation, the merit of which, however, is claimed, we think, by Fr. Ant. Fernandez, in a letter from Dembea in 1607. It is well to reflect on the injury done, to the cause of truth and knowledge, by such egregious errors published under the sanction of the Vatican; and on the obloquy which probably awaited the individual who should have dared to express a doubt of their correctness!

Respecting the magnitude of the lake, De Barros states, on the authority of natives, that it is 100

* Dapper, Africa, Amst. 1676, pp. 219, 220. and 285. Pombo, here taken for a region subject to Makoko, means simply the route through the interior.

† Nic. Godinhus, De Abassinorum Rebus, 1615, p. 69.

leagues long. Some years later a few particulars were furnished by Luigi Mariano, a missionary in Monomotapa. His account is as follows: — "The lake is ninety-seven days distant from Tete. Maravi is a very populous town on the shores of the lake, between its shores and the Zambéze. Then follow two of the principal kings: one is Massi, who is fifteen days distant from Maravi; the other, five days further, is called Rouenga. The people of Rouenga have no knowledge of the other end of the lake, to such a length does it extend. It is four or five leagues wide, and in some places cannot be seen across. It is covered with islands," &c., &c.* The Maravi or king here indicated on the south-western shore of the lake, appears to have been in the Manguro country, and may, perhaps, have been a predecessor of the chief whom Mohammed ben Ahmed styles the Sultan of Nyassa. Fifteen days further N. was Massi, a name which, like many in the neighbourhood of the lake, is now found further W. Five days from Massi, or twenty from Maravi, was the king called Rouenga. Here evidently began the Mucaranga, the territory of Uranga, and Moenemoézi. The north end of the lake lay beyond the limits of certain knowledge.

Our recent testimonies are still more plain and positive. The Nhanja Grande, *i. e.* Great Sea (Nhanja is the Portuguese mode of writing Nyanja or ñanja, the eastern form of N'yassa), or Nhanja ya Matope, the

* Lettere Annue, 1627, p. 334.

Lake of the Fens, was at first supposed by Lacerda to be connected with the river Shíre; but the information given him by the Musocuma, who dwell on its shores, enabled him to trace it northward as far at least as the ninth parallel; and when Captain Gamitto, who accompanied the Portuguese expedition of 1831 to the Cazembe, tells us that the Nhanja Grande runs into the ocean at Zanzibar, he only repeats the opinion of the Sawáhili, that the Lufiji flows from the lake through Moenemoézi. Thus the continuity of the lake on the western side is established beyond a doubt. But, on the east, the shore of the lake is traced continuously, in the map of Mohammed ben Nassúr, throughout Moenemoézi, from Msarára in the north to beyond Uranga in the south. Khamís ben Othmán was well acquainted with the Wanyassa, from the Mucaranga southwards. He knew but the one lake. Nasíb the Miáo, who had been on the shores of Nyassa among the Mucamango, knew the Mucaranga also as Wanyassa, and spontaneously stated that they were the same as the Moenemoézi. He had also heard of the Cazembe. According to him, the width of the lake is a three days' voyage in a canoe, the nights being spent on islands; a statement agreeing with that of Pereira, and confirmed by Ben Nassúr's map in two points. The length of the lake, he said, was a two months' voyage in a canoe, or one month's in an English ship.

When the foregoing statements are viewed in conjunction with the routes from the eastern coasts to the interior and through the country of the Cazembe,

it will be evident that there is a lake, and, as Lopez declared, only one lake, in these countries. On the western side the natives talk of the Nhanja, that is, in the singular number, the Sea. On the eastern side they speak of Nyassa, or, on the coast, of Ziwa, *i. e.* the Lake. Surely if the roads to Iáo and Moenemoézi led to two different lakes, an unequivocal proof of the fact would be found in the use of the plural Waziwa. Yet Dr. Krapf is represented as saying that the natives distinguish between Nyassa to the south and the lake of Moenemoézi. If he met with particulars tending to precision, why has he suppressed them? The following passage from his journal contains perhaps the evidence alluded to:—"Some natives say that it (the Lufiji) rises in Uniamezi; others state that its source is in the Lake Nyassa." But these statements are not incompatible; the variance which Dr. Krapf thinks he sees between them is really but the discord of his own mind. His inaptitude in this matter arises wholly from a reluctance to learn. The natives told him of the great lake or river, "for I never could make out," he observes, "from the native reports, whether it is a lake or a river." And surely that circumstance is a proof of its extraordinary elongation. But Dr. Krapf, in his ingenuous moments, when not thinking of obliquely controverting a geographical essay which certainly had no tendency to obstruct his researches, willingly falls back on the theory of "a great lake whence the Chadda and Zaire and Kilimani (Zambéze) do flow," or, in other words, he adopts the

theory of a single lake when clothed in its antique absurdity.* The natives told him, also, that "the great lake or river increases and decreases like the great sea; meaning thereby, undoubtedly," he remarks, with much simplicity, "that the river is subject to the laws of ebb and flood, occasioned either by the pressure of the sea or from the melting of snow." How much more natural would be the supposition that the natives meant to speak merely of the rising and falling of the waves! It is remarkable that Lacerda also seems to have been at a loss to decide whether the great waters on the east of his route, were those of a lake or of a river. He was disposed to consider the Murisúro (waters) which flow by the Cazembe's town, as the upper course of the Shíre, which enters the Zambéze nearly opposite to Sena. The long and narrow lake in question seems to mark a great fracture in the earth, parallel to the valley of the Lulúa, the eastern side having risen while the western collapsed. Another similar fracture, on a smaller scale, extends from the neighbourhood of Mombas, in the same direction, 100 or 200 miles into the interior. The river Adi flows for some distance at the foot of the bank or ridge thus formed, and, were its egress north-eastwards barred, would immediately form an elongated lake like Nyassa and parallel to it.

When Khamís, the intelligent Sawáhili above referred to, was in London in 1834, he described in

* Missionary Intelligencer, vol. iii. p. 88. 1852.

favourable terms the country of Usambára on the Pangáni, observing that Kazíta (a district of that country, near the river apparently) was the most populous part of Africa within his knowledge, and that the capital, Vúga, was three times as large as the town of Zanzibar. On this information the Pangáni was pointed out in the Edinburgh Review (July, 1837) as particularly meriting the attention of voyagers and enquirers on the eastern coast of Africa. He spoke also of Kilíma Njáro as one of the highest mountains of Eastern Africa and famous for its carnelian or agate pebbles—particulars which were brought into view in the Memoir on the Geography of N'yassi in 1845. The hint respecting the Pangáni was taken by the Rev. Dr. Krapf, who visited Usambára in July, 1848, and the account of Kilíma Njáro was in most respects confirmed by the Rev. J. Rebmann, who travelled thither a little earlier the same year. It remains for us to discuss these and the subsequent journeys of the same gentlemen to the W. and N.W. and their geographical results. We shall take their narratives not in chronological but geographical order, proceeding from S. to N. and beginning with Usambára.

On the 12th July, 1848, Dr. Krapf set sail from Mombas, and, landing in the Bay of Mtongue, not far off, commenced his march to Lungúma, in Udigo, or the country of the Wadigo.* These people occupy the maritime districts near Mombas. The fertile soil

* Missionary Intelligencer, vol. i. p. 38., 1850.

of their beautiful park-like country, about forty miles in extent, has invited them to agricultural pursuits. They cultivate much tobacco, though not sufficient for their own consumption. The next day's journey passed through a large market of agricultural produce, and, ascending the plain of Shimba, which commands a wide and enchanting view, terminated at the village of Kuále. On the third day the path descended towards the interior to the borders of a low level plain, extending westwards, Dr. Krapf supposes, to the heart of the continent. This plain is a waste roamed over by the Wakuávi. The two following nights were spent in the desert, round fires fed with logs of ebony. Jombo or Wassín Peak was now seen in the S. E., and a path in that direction was followed for two days, the forest growing thicker and the grass more rank as the humid climate of the southern hill-country was approached. Wild animals now grew numerous, the giraffe on the open plain, the rhinoceros in the thicket, and the elephant in the sedge and long grass. The eighth day's march terminated at the village of Gonja, on the fine river Umba, not far S. from Jombo. The country was here well cultivated, the chief crops being maize, rice, and manióca. The evening after leaving Gonja, Dr. Krapf was entertained in a spacious cottage, where his repast was served on porcelain, with knives of Zanzibar manufacture. The route went beyond this, through a populous country with some very large villages, and crossed the lively river Emgambo; and, on the 24th July (fifteenth day from Mombas, and

twelfth day's march), Dr. Krapf reached Nugníri, a village governed by a daughter of the king of Usambára, on whose territory he had now entered. This town appears to be situate about thirty miles from the coast, nearly in lat 5° S., not at a great elevation, but yet sufficiently near the mountains to enjoy a cool invigorating air. From Nugníri Dr. Krapf turned W. by S. towards the mountains, on his way to the residence of King Kméri. For seven days he crossed a succession of steep narrow ridges, the sides of which were clothed with superb forests. The villages were all on the heights; the valleys, wildly luxuriant, were deserted because insecure. The first day the road went round Pambire, about 2500 feet high; the day following it ascended Makueri, 3000 feet high; then came Handei, 3500 feet in height. But these estimates of elevation, calculated merely from the author's fatigue, must not be understood literally. From the last-named mountain, the descent was into the profound valley of Kerenge, in which the river Engeréa, deep and silent, flowed towards the S. S. W. On the 6th August (the seventh day's march from Nugníri) Dr. Krapf reached Vúga (or, as he writes it, Fuga), the capital of the kingdom. It happened, however, to be one of the four towns in Usambára from which strangers were at that time strictly excluded by some freak of superstition; he therefore proceeded to Sála, the residence of the king, a day's journey to the N. W., and called also Mtoni, owing to the fine river (Mto) running through it south-eastwards. The missionary was received civilly by the king, and, after a few days'

rest, set out on his return to the coast by a road passing to the N. of that already travelled; and, although lamed by an accident and unable to make long journeys, he reached Pangáni on the sea-side in eight days, crossing the Emgambo not far from Nugníri on the fifth.

Now comes the important task of ascertaining Dr. Krapf's rate of travelling, so that we may be able to fix approximately the positions of the places occurring in his route. When Mr. Rebmann's map, containing the route in question, was set before Mohammed ben Khamís, a very intelligent Sawáhili, educated in England, formerly commanding one of the Sultan Seid S'aíd's ships, but now secretary and interpreter to his highness, he immediately remarked, and the remark was not unexpected, that the course of the Pangáni towards the coast is from N.W. by W., and not from S.W. by W., as there represented. But the excessive prolongation of the route, and another error, which shall be presently pointed out, made it necessary to carry the river southwards. Fortunately a considerable portion of the route goes along, and at no great distance from, the coast, and so affords an opportunity of determining the rate of march with tolerable exactness. Dr. Krapf sometimes speaks of 20 or 25 miles as a moderate day's march. Yet, on the eighth day of his march from Mombas, we find him at Gonja, only 50 statute miles from his starting point. At Nugníri, after twelve days' march, he had gone 100 miles. From a point on the Emgambo, near Nugníri, it took him rather more than

two days to reach the coast on his return from Vúga; so that, from Mombas to Pangáni, a distance of 90 geographical or 104 statute miles, he marched at least fourteen days; and, consequently, the projected length of his day's march is but 7½ miles. But to this calculation it will probably be objected, that the route was very circuitous. To be sure it was. Every route in a wild country overgrown with wood and thicket must be circuitous. The thorn bush lengthens the path as much as the steep mountain; and therefore Mr. Rebmann's map, which curtails little or nothing on the score of projection, departs widely from the truth. But waiving these rigorous considerations, let us trace Dr. Krapf's circuitous route as closely as we can, and let us add to its measured length one-sixth for windings not traceable, and thus we find for the fourteen days' march 175 statute miles, or 12½ miles a day. Now, when the route to Vúga is laid down according to this ascertained rate, that place will be found to stand 30 miles at least N.E. of the position assigned to it by Mr. Rebmann. But the road to Vúga passed over several steep ridges, and presented such inequalities of ground as must materially increase the travelled distance in relation to the true projected distance; for among mountains the former may easily be three or four times the latter; and, therefore, it is probable that the capital of Usambára is still 25 miles nearer to the coast than it appears in our map.

Dr. Krapf expressly states that the Pangáni river is called in its upper course the Luffu (Ruvú); and

there are not a few incautious readers who will feel themselves bound to accept this as a fact ascertained by one who had ample opportunity of doing so. Yet that express statement conveys really but an opinion, and that totally incorrect. "The Luffu or Ruffu," he says, "is the continuation of the river Lomi or Lumi, which Mr. Rebmann crossed on his way to Jagga, and concerning which he was told that it formed a branch of the river Ozi; but I rather think it rises in the mountains of Ukambani, receives contributions from the mountains of Jagga, runs through the wilderness of the Masai tribes, passes the south of Usambára, where it receives other contributions, and is called Luffu, and at last runs under the name of Pangáni into the Indian Sea." Such is Dr. Krapf's conjecture, which we are fully as well entitled to reject as he was to slight Mr. Rebmann's information. We know, on unquestionable evidence, that the mouth of the Ruvú is in lat. 6° 15′ S. 50 nautical miles S. of the Pangáni, within half a mile of the village of Kingani (*i. e.* the bar, or the place at the bar). When Dr. Krapf, standing on the hill at Sála, looked down with admiration on the valley of the Luffu, he enjoyed a pleasing misconception; for the river which he had in mind was 100 miles off. But this mistake has begotten others; for when he says that the commercial route from Moenemoézi descends by the valley of the Pangáni, he means to speak of the Ruvú; and so the editor of his narrative, when, inadvertently changing the terms, he informs us that an habitual intercourse subsists between Moenemoézi

and Usambára, makes a statement which has no foundation. It is unaccountable how Dr. Krapf, acquainted as he is with the Sawáhili language, should have failed to perceive that Pangáni is a merely local name, not that of the river properly, but of its mouth.*

Since it appears that Dr. Krapf, who evidently does not want for energy, could travel through the wilds to Usambára only at the rate of 12½ miles a day, how can we believe that Mr. Rebmann marched to Kilíma Njáro, 300 miles, in thirteen, ten, nine, aye, or even in eight, days. The difficulty of such a feat lies not merely in the want of good roads, or of any road at all, and the frequent occurrence of thorn bush, which must be avoided, but also in the African retinue, some bearing burdens, and all unused to a pace exceeding 1½ mile an hour, and habitually considering a march of 8 miles as a good day's work. The march of these Africans has been aptly compared by an experienced observer to the slow, irregular wandering of cattle as they browse through a thicket. "My dear fellow-labourer, the Rev. J. Rebmann, visited the interior to a distance of about 300 miles N.W. of Rabbai." These are the words of Dr. Krapf. Mr. Rebmann himself reduces the route in question in his map to 200 miles; but even this estimate of the distance will be found on examination to be excessive. On his first journey to Kilíma Njáro, Mr. Rebmann

* P-anga-ni, *i. e.* (the place) at the gap or cleft. The mouth of the river is situate between two cliffs, one of which fell partly some twenty years ago and crushed a village at its base.

started from Rábè mpía the 27th of April, 1848. He directed his course to Kadiaro (probably Kajáro, the diminutive of Njáro), a mountain or hill, three or four days' journey to the W. He then turned N.W. towards Bura, a ridge extending N. and S., about 70 miles W. of Mombas. In this part of the journey rapid advance was out of the question. The traveller complains of the fatigue endured, "in consequence," he says, "of my guide missing the way, which, however, itself scarcely deserved its name, being buried in a thick and thorny jungle." And again he tells us, "I myself was so much vexed by the multitude of thorns bidding me to stoop as I went, times without number, that I resolved not only, on my return, to take a different route, but if possible no more to pass that way at all." At length the beaten road, or rather the narrow path, from Mombas was hit upon, and the Bura mountain ascended on the eighth day. Another day was consumed in descending the mountain to the river Gnaro in the plain. Here, again, Mr. Rebmann found obstructions; no beaten path, and, in the absence of thorn bushes, a kind of strong grass full of burs, which wounded the feet dreadfully. Two days over this desert brought him to the river Lomi, about twelve feet wide, one foot deep, and running southwards. Towards the close of another day, the river Gona was crossed, flowing rapidly in the same direction, thirty feet wide and three deep. Here the country became hilly and the thicket dense; so that it took some hours on the thirteenth day to march 6 miles to the village, which Mr. Rebmann

names, from the country, Kilíma (that is, the hill). From Kilíma Mr. Rebmann returned to the coast in eight or nine days; and, on a second journey to that place in November of the same year, performed the whole distance in eight days, reaching Bura in five. According to our Sawáhili authorities, Chága, as the hill country, Kilíma, is more commonly called, may be reached in seven days, though the ordinary time for native traders going to Kilíma Njáro, one or two days further, is twelve days. With these data before us, and at the same time unwilling to deal rigorously with Mr. Rebmann's map, we reduce his 200 miles (the distance of Kilíma from Mombas) to 133, and thus fix that point in long. 37° 49′ E., lat. 3° 42′ S., though we feel a strong persuasion that this will prove to be at least 20 miles too far west.

Mr. Rebmann, on his second journey to Kilíma (Nov. 1848), went beyond that place to Majáme, which country he visited again in the following April.* The distance of Majáme from Kilíma he estimates at a day and a half, but it took him on both occasions two days. Such, however, was the difficulty of the ground, the path going along the base of Kilíma Njáro, across numerous water courses, and the traveller being obliged on the second occasion to trudge shoeless through the mire, that 25 miles, which we are willing to allow for the distance between those places, will probably exceed the truth. Adding this last distance, therefore, to that previously

* Missionary Intelligencer, vol. i. pp. 272. 307., 1851.

calculated, we shall have 158, or, in round numbers, 160, statute miles, as the furthest limit of Mr. Rebmann's travels westward from Mombas. Towards the S. and S. W., from the same point, Pangáni and Vúga are respectively distant 105 and 145 miles; Dr. Krapf, therefore, made but a loose calculation when he boasted that the missionary station, near Mombas, had laid open the country to a distance of 300 miles to the S. and W.

The countries thus explored to the S. and W. are new to geography and highly interesting. The Pangáni river is said to be navigable for a few days up to the falls: above which the stream widens, and there is a large and populous island named Kisúngo (more probably Kisonga), which Dr. Krapf states, we think erroneously, to have been once occupied by the Portuguese. The mountainous country of Usambára, on the northern side of the river, is well wooded and watered, extremely fertile, and apparently salubrious. Of the industry and social progress of its inhabitants and the rumoured populousness of some portions of it, we have as yet no authentic particulars. Westwards from Mombas, the country rises gradually, forming a ridge or bank, the summit of which, distant 40 or 50 miles, attains an elevation, as we conjecture, of 600 feet. On this eminence are scattered a few hills, as Kadiaro, Maúngu, &c., and, further on, where the ground begins to incline westwards, a succession of narrow ridges running N. and S., viz. Ndara, Mbolólu, and Bura, the last 70 miles from Mombas. These heights are generally peopled on the

summits, but the small communities occupying them, severed and insecure, are in a low social condition. Bananas and sugar-cane are among the native productions of these mountains, to which Mr. Rebmann assigns, generally, a height of from 4000 to 6000 feet, probably the double of the truth. The rivulets from these ridges are collected by the Gnaro, which is said to run to the sea at Wassín, but this appears doubtful. Beyond the Gnaro the wide and desert plain visibly sinks towards the west. On the east it is bounded by the hilly tract which runs parallel to, and at a little distance from, the sea-shore. South are Páre, Ugóno, and other insulated mountain groups, backed by the heights of Usambára. On the north are similar scattered groups, all rising abruptly from the common level. Bura and its immediate neighbours are associated under the name of the Teita mountains. On the western side of the plain, about 30 miles from the Gnaro, flows the Lómi, and a dozen miles further on the Gona, which probably unite, and run, according to Dr. Krapf's theory (which is not founded, be it observed, on any positive testimony), into the Pangáni or the Ruvú; but in the middle of the great plain, 20 miles south of the path here described, Lake Ibe extends from east to west, at the foot of some insulated mountains, and may possibly absorb one or both of the rivers above mentioned.

West of the Gona begins Kilíma, that is, "the Hill," a tract known on the coast by the name of Chága; and a few miles further on, the ground rising constantly, stands Kilíma Njáro, the highest moun-

tain known to the Sawáhili in this quarter. The meaning of the name Kilíma Njáro or Mount Njáro, if it have any meaning, is unknown to the Sawáhili. Any one at all acquainted with the Sawáhili and other Zingian languages will perceive that njáro, in this expression, is a proper name, unaffected by any sign of concord or dependence. To be analysed, it must be first corrupted. This has been done by Mr. Rebmann, who converts Kilíma Njáro into Kilíma dja-aro, which he tells us signifies, "Mountain of Greatness." This etymology, which is not, we believe, adopted by Dr. Krapf, is wholly inadmissible for the following reasons: 1st. It is mere nonsense; and language, being the immediate offspring of man's intellectual constitution, is founded on broad principles of common sense, which we may naturally expect to find in their primæval strength in the speech of uncultivated tribes. Bura is called by its inhabitants Kilíma Kibómu, or Great Hill, not Hill of Greatness — a natural and unaffected expression, and one which, we dare say, their neighbours in the west find quite within the resources of their language. 2ndly. Kilíma has not the sense which Mr. Rebmann ascribes to it. M'lima (in the interior more generally M'ríma), signifies a mountain, while Kilíma (or Kiríma) is the diminutive and particular, individual, or special form; and, in the latter character, may be joined, like the French *mont*, with a proper name, as in Kilíma Njáro; but when not so joined, it signifies not a mountain, but a hill, hillock, or rising ground of the humblest description. 3rdly. We cannot find,

in any vocabulary of a Zingian language, the word *aro*, greatness: but if this objection be waived, still the expression dja-aro involves a mistake most important in its consequences. The missionaries at Rábè mpía, in framing a system of writing Sawáhili, have never deigned to study the system adopted by the Sawáhili themselves (in Arabic characters); nor have they given much attention to the sounds of an alphabet differing in some respects widely from the German. Hence, they habitually confound three distinct sounds, cha, ja or dja, and dya, the last soft and liquid, and in the mouth of the vulgar or to the ear of a stranger hardly distinguishable from ya. For the first of these, the Sawáhili use in writing a separate character (the Ghief of the Turks with a different function); the other two are written with the Arabic jim. Now the Sawáhili diminutives, and all nouns beginning with ki, require to be followed by the particle cha, not dja, so that the expression Kilíma dja-aro ought to be written, as pronounced, Kilíma cha aro, which is obviously very different from Kilíma Njáro.*

The natives of Kilíma or Kiríma, at the foot of Kilíma Njáro, call themselves Wakiríma, that is, hill-people, not mountaineers. Mr. Rebmann says, "the

* Dr. Krapf, in his Grammar, confounds not only *j* with *ch*, and with another sound very soft and liquid, but also *v* with *w*. His *juo*, a book, ought to be *chuo*; his *witu*, things, ought to be *vitu*. But, still worse, he writes *fania*, to do, for *fanja* (with the soft *j*). This omission of a radical letter is a serious corruption. The Sawáhili, dropping the paragogic sound, write *faja*. Their *cu fanja*, to make or do, becomes, in the cognate tongues, *cuvanga*, *cubanca*, &c.

Wakiríma,—as the Jaggas call themselves, are ignorant of the name Wajagga, by which they are called by the Suahélis." * The name Wajagga is used for want of a better or for want of thought, just as Mr. Rebmann uses constantly the name Jaggas, a license calculated to give rise to serious misconceptions. There is reason to suspect that the geographers of the 16th and 17th centuries, who assumed that the Jagas of Angola had come originally from Moenemoézi, were led to adopt that opinion by the occurrence of a similar name on the eastern coast. But the fact is, that the district of Kilíma is called by the Sawáhili, not Jaga, but Chága (T'yága), as we have seen it written, and have often heard it pronounced by a well-informed Sawáhili, who yet never used the term Wachága. The prominent character of the hill-country called Chága, in the view of a Sawáhili, is, that, being naturally strong and inhabited by warlike tribes, it forms an impregnable barrier against the Galla. It seems not unlikely, therefore, that the country takes its name of Chága from the dense thorny thickets which actually surround it, and with

* The sense and derivation of the word Sawáhili, though contested in certain quarters (the missionaries obstinately write Suahéli) are not in the least doubtful. The Arabic word *sahil*, the shore or sea-coast, makes in the plural *sawáhil*, whence is formed the adjective *sawáhili*, of or belonging to the coasts. But the Mohammedan natives of the eastern coasts of Africa, who are comprehended under the name of Sawáhili, do not pronounce the hard *h* of the Arabs; the vowels therefore between which it stands in their name, unite to form a diphthong, like the Italian *ai*, or the English *i* in wile; and Sawáhili is pronounced Sawíli.

which the natives fortify their villages. It is probably the same word which Dr. Krapf writes Tsakka, and explains as meaning "a forest obstructed by acacia, euphorbia, and other trees, the branches of which block up the roads, and miserably destroy the traveller's clothing, who often must, in a creeping way, force his way through the thicket."

It is now time to consider the discovery on which Mr. Rebmann particularly prides himself, namely, that of perpetual snow. He expected on setting out to find Kilíma Njáro grand and elevated, but he had evidently heard nothing of its snows. Arrived at the western side of the Teita mountains, he ascended a height to get a view of Kilíma Njáro, but without success. He reckoned that he was, at that time, five days (subsequent experience proved him to be four days) distant from that mountain, which is in fact visible over Bura from Maúngu, a hill three or four days from Rábè mpía. Various and inconsistent reasons have been assigned for this failure, but the only true explanation of it is contained in Mr. Rebmann's confession that he is very short-sighted. He was unable to perceive, with the aid of a small telescope, Lake Ibe, three days distant in the south, which his followers could discern with the naked eye; nor could he see even the rhinoceroses in his path. Yet when two days from Kilíma, or perhaps 30 miles in a straight line, he began to descry the great mountain, which, as we have observed, is ordinarily visible from three times that distance. "The mountains," he says, "of Jagga gradually rose more distinctly to our

sight. At about ten o'clock, I observed something remarkably white on the top of a high mountain, and first supposed that it was a very white cloud, in which supposition my guide also confirmed me." This very indistinct perception of "something white" grew rapidly in the imagination, and Mr. Rebmann adds these words: "The most delightful recognition took place in my mind, of an old well-known European guest called snow." Here it is obvious that the discovery of snow rests much more on "a delightful mental recognition," than on the evidence of the senses. When Mr. Rebmann endeavoured to explain his discovery to his comparatively sharp-sighted attendants, they seemed unwilling "to trust his words at once." But in his mind the wish was father to the thought, the "delightful recognition" developed with amazing rapidity, and in a few minutes the cloudy object, or "something white," became a "beautiful snow mountain, so near to the equator." But this is not all; having again narrowly escaped the encounter of some rhinoceroses, to which his near-sightedness exposed him, Mr. Rebmann turned to contemplate the grand scene around him; the Teita mountains to the east, the Ugóno mountains south-west, and others to the north, rose to a height of from 4000 to 6000 feet, while on the west stood the lofty Kilíma Njáro, "covered with eternal snow." Thus, in an incredibly short time, the "something white," was invested by fancy with the attribute of eternity; and the object of "the most delightful recognition" was deemed perpetual.

Here then is a great discovery, not as yet, however, supported and completed with circumstantial details. When close to the village of Kilíma, Mr. Rebmann again exclaims: "On its (the river Gona's) banks, round about, eternal summer exhibited the most luxuriant vegetation; and lifting up my eyes, I viewed eternal winter, apparently so near as if to be reached by a few hours' walk, but in fact at a distance of about a day's journey." This view of "eternal winter" is probably only a dash of rhetoric, and not intended as an expression of ocular testimony, but if we take it for the latter, then it must mean that Kilíma Njáro was visible from the immediate vicinity of the village, about a day's journey distant to the west, in which quarter it was last seen. For nine days Mr. Rebmann was confined to his cottage by the soreness of his feet, which had been wounded by thorns—a proof that long and rapid marches over these wilds are not to be reckoned on, but on his recovery he sallied forth to survey the country. He did not return to the spot near the village whence he had previously seen the mountain, but ascended a summit of 2000 feet in height, and thus exclaims: "What a grand and extensive view presented itself to my eyes! Towards the east I could survey the whole length of the Boora mountains, from south to north, where they border on the Galla and Wakamba countries. A little south of the Boora the Kadiaro stretched forth its lofty head, and at a distance twice as large (about a seven days' journey from Jagga) the Yombo mountain (Jombo),

near Wasseen, in the direction of south-east, could still well be distinguished." The mountain thus indicated, and seen by the short-sighted Mr. Rebmann, not only from the height, but also from the borders of the village, at a distance (according to his map) of nearly 200 miles, is marked in the charts as Wasseen Peak, about 2500 feet high.* Our author, having scanned the south-western horizon, at length turns towards the great mountain, and pronounces with much gravity: "Towards the west I might have seen the snow-crowned Kilimanjaro, had it not been, as it generally is, enveloped in clouds." Though he remained another week in Chága, we hear no more of the lofty mountain, except some puerile tales, of natives killed by the contact of snow, one only escaping by flight, though with the loss of his limbs!

Statements such as these, betraying weak powers of observation, strong fancy, an eager craving for wonders, and childish reasoning, could not fail to awaken mistrust by their intrinsic demerits, even if there were no testimony opposed to them. But the Sawáhili traders, who are very well acquainted with Kilíma Njáro, know nothing of its snows. Khamís ben Othmán, repeatedly questioned on that point, denied firmly the existence of perpetual snow in Africa, as far as his knowledge reached, and that was a long way; and as to Kilíma Njáro, he affirmed that

* Capt. Boteler thought it worthy of remark that Wassín Peak can be seen distinctly from Pemba, a distance of 40 or 50 miles. It is hardly credible then that the same peak should be easily seen in the opposite quarter, from a distance of 130 miles. — *Owen's Narrative of Voyages, &c.*, vol. i. p. 428.

it was covered with carnelian and other precious stones, as he deemed them, but had no snow. His son, Mohammed ben Khamís, the Sultan's secretary, has repeated to us the same statements. Bana Kheri, who accompanied Mr. Rebmann, and who is described by Dr. Krapf as a man of great natural ability and enterprise, who had travelled far and wide through the interior, and had seen Kilíma Njáro from all points of view, yet knew nothing of the snow: and Mr. Rebmann's guides, one of whom had resided two years in Chága, were all ignorant and even incredulous of its existence. The missionaries will perhaps tell us, that these men were ignorant and benighted and fearful of cold, and therefore unacquainted with snow. But such assumptions are unworthy of attention. These Africans are quite as able to distinguish between black and white, hot and cold, solid and fluid, and quite as inquisitive about natural objects, as Europeans; and we cannot doubt that if there were perpetual snow on their mountains, they would be as well acquainted with it as with the rocks and trees about them. Khamís gave us to understand that snow is not uncommon in Eastern Africa, though he knew of no perpetual snow, and he mentioned the remarkable fact that snow falls annually on the Great Comóro Island.

The editor and sincere defender of Mr. Rebmann's narrative inadvertently contradicts that gentleman in these words: "Still, although Mr. R. had seen the mountain, he had never been nearer than within some days' journey of it." Now the account which was

impugned states distinctly that "eternal winter" was apparently distant only a few hours', but in reality one day's, journey. The editor proceeds in these words: "He had not been close to it; he had not stood at its base, and beheld it, without the possibility of misapprehension, rising before him in its grandeur. It was felt that, on a point so unexpected and deeply interesting, the testimony should be such as to terminate all doubt. Such conclusive testimony is presented to us in the following narrative." This we deny, and shall now proceed to examine the narrative in question.

On the 14th of November, 1848, Mr. Rebmann started from Mombas and reached Kilíma in eight marches, making some delay however on the road.* On the 4th January, 1849, he left Kilíma on his way to Majáme, and went about 6 or 8 miles N. W., towards Kilíma Njáro, till he reached the northern limit of the inhabited land. Here, he says, "the cold at night was as severe as in Europe in November," which he imputes, of course, to the proximity of the snow. He also tells us, as a proof of his near approach to the mountain and of its magnitude, that he could perfectly distinguish it by the light of the moon. The following day the road still went several miles in the same direction, N. W., and then turned due W. to Majáme. Thus it appears that, one day W. of Kilíma, there is no mountain whatever. In this part of his route he crossed several valleys 1500 or 2000 feet

* Missionary Intelligencer, vol. i. p. 327.

deep; and yet this estimate must be enormously exaggerated, if we be right in supposing that the route quite across a valley of the latter depth cannot be much less than 4 miles. In these deep valleys run perennial streams, "supplied," our author takes care to add, "by the plenteous snow stores, covering the head of the mountain." "I crossed," says Mr. Rebmann, "on the short way from Kilíma to Majáme, one day and a half, about twelve rivers, with pretty large volumes of water, they being on an average 5 inches deep, and 5 yards broad. Was ever simplicity so ridiculous? — "eternal snows," and great valleys, furnishing and confining rills 5 inches deep! To be sure, it was the middle of the dry season, as our author reminds us, but what signifies that in the presence of his "eternal snows?" The wonder is that, under a burning sun, the rivers were not quite filled from "the plenteous snow stores." When the ancient Greek philosophers supposed snow to be piled on the mountains of Ethiopia, they had in view the necessity of providing for the summer flóods of Egypt. Some moderns repeat the bare hypothesis of the ancients without their reasonings: they take the husk and throw away the pulp. Mr. Rebmann, after adverting again and again to the "eternal snow," about 6 miles distant, at length arrived in Majáme, situate S. W. of, and 3 or 4 miles from the foot of, the snow mountain. In that place he staid from the 6th to the 29th of January. He then spent some days in Kilíma, whence he returned to the coast in ten days. But neither in the narrative of his journey back, nor in that of a second visit to

Majáme during April, May, and June (the rainy season), does he furnish any further particulars of the great mountain or the adjacent country.

The constant effort of Mr. Rebmann, to prove the existence of snow on Kilíma Njáro by inference from phenomena generally insignificant or ill understood, naturally gives rise to the presumption that he did not actually see snow. In the presence of the perpetual snows themselves—of one of the grandest spectacles in nature—such inferential proofs would have appeared as idle and worthless as the flame of a taper in the effulgence of noontide. Thus he tells us that the cold of night, in January (midsummer), at the foot of the mountain, was (owing to the snow, of course) as severe as in Europe in November. Now, in order to avoid meteorological discussion, we shall merely oppose to this the words of Dr. Krapf relative to the mountains of Usambára, 3000 feet high at the utmost, and far removed from snow. "I feel," he observes, "very cold on this high land, the temperature of which reminds me of the weather of November and the beginning of December in Germany." The fact is that both these gentlemen measured the temperature, not with a thermometer, but by their sensations, which deceived them as they passed from the dry warmth of the low plain to the comparatively humid and chilly climate of the hills, —cooler, perhaps, but still the climate of the banana and sugar-cane. Then, again, as to the numerous rivulets descending from Kilíma Njáro, and which, Mr. Rebmann assures us, would be quite dry, of

course, in November, but for "the plenteous snow stores," we have only to point to the perennial streams, of considerable magnitude, which Dr. Krapf found in Usambara and along the coast, springing from moderate elevations. In truth, Mr. Rebmann, with all his disposition to magnify the "plenteous snow stores," and their result, does not describe a single river comparable, even in the rainy season, in strength and volume of water, with the Wandle, which has a course of just twelve miles, and a fall of perhaps forty feet, from the edge of Banstead Downs to the Thames near London.

Now it is a very extraordinary circumstance, that, excepting the assumption of perpetual snow, obtruded on the reader at every opportunity, and the feeble inferences to the same effect already alluded to, there is nothing whatever tending to establish belief in the snows of Kilíma Njáro, in the narrative of this second journey, during which Mr. Rebmann is said "to have stood at the base of the snow mountain, and to have beheld it, without the possibility of misapprehension, rising before him in all its grandeur." We repeat, that in the substantive narrative and text of the journal, there is no direct mention whatever of the aspect of the mountain and its physical characters. In the foot-notes, to be sure, all added to one fragment of the journal, there is something more particular. But who wrote those notes? Dr. Krapf we opine; there is internal evidence that they are not Mr. Rebmann's. But let us examine them in detail,

beginning with the description of the mountain. It is as follows:—

"There are two summits rising to the limit of snow out of the common mountain mass. The eastern is lower and terminates in several peaks, which, during the rainy season, are richly and very far down covered with snow; but in the dry season it will sometimes entirely melt away, while at other times a few spots will remain. The western summit is the proper perpetual snow mountain, which, rising considerably above its neighbour, affords also much more room for the snow, it being formed like an immense dome. It is ten or twelve miles distant from the eastern summit, the intervening space presenting a saddle, which so far as I know, is never covered with snow."

Is it not utterly incredible that any one standing in the majestic presence of a mountain, towering to a height of 17,000 or 18,000 feet, or more, immediately above him, should totally omit to mention in his journal the sublime scene there forced upon his senses; and that in place of vivid impressions, conveyed in natural language, and upon the page to which he first consigned his thoughts, he should record his "conclusive testimony, on a point so interesting," as *an after-thought*,—in a foot-note,—in a style studiously cautious, frigid, and affected? The note just quoted is elaborately vague. The author of it wishes to imply, but does not distinctly testify, the existence of snow. The eastern summit is not the true snow mountain; the western has more room for snow.

Writing, or being supposed to write in the dry season, he says that the snow descends very far down during the rains, but why did he not describe its extent and distribution as it lay before his eyes. In Abessinia, one standing under a serene sky can look down from a height of 6000 or 8000 feet on the clouds, which deluge the plains below. In the Himâlaya, the rainy season is that in which the snow-line retires or ascends highest; nowhere within the tropics do the rain clouds of the lower plains approach the region of congelation; but the season of rain is always distinct from that of snow. Kilíma Njáro, however, offers an exception, it seems, to the general law, and its "eternal snows" are shown, on conclusive testimony, to be an anomaly in nature. Again, in another note, Mr. Rebmann is made to say:—

"In the account of my first journey to Jagga, I said that the Jaggas had neither a name for snow, nor did they know the nature of it. But this was a false statement of my guide, who, though he had formerly staid in Jagga for two years, yet had never asked the inhabitants what they called that white substance, covering, to a large extent, the head of their mountain. On this second journey, I asked the Jaggas themselves, instead of my guide, and learnt from them their name for snow, which is *kibo*. They also know well that 'kibo' is nothing but water, and that all their many rivers proceed from the 'kibo.'"

Considering the slender, unessential difference between the language of the coast, with which we

suppose Mr. Rebmann to be acquainted, and that of the interior, we cannot understand how that gentleman, who spent a fortnight in Kilíma on his first visit, could have been deceived by interpreters, or why he did not interrogate the natives himself. But when we look into Dr. Krapf's vocabularies, we find "kibo" set down there as a Kikamba word, belonging to the language of the plains explored by Dr. Krapf. He gives it as meaning snow, conjointly with another expression "mawía mambúa," which undoubtedly signifies hail (literally, rain-stones). But, in his journal, "kibo" seems to be the proper name of the mountain. It appears to us unquestionable, that the Kikamba name "kibo," and the note quoted above, are both due to Dr. Krapf, and not to Mr. Rebmann. But here is another important note: —

"In Bura (Teita) I took a bearing of the Kilimanjáro, which was due N.W." Mr. Rebmann, on his first journey, was unable to descry Kilíma Njáro from Bura; and if he succeeded on his second trip, it is singular that he should disclose that interesting fact only by incidental allusion. But the bearing here noted squares with the views of Dr. Krapf, as we shall see presently, while it is utterly and irreconcilably at variance with the map and clear statements of Mr. Rebmann, who invariably places the points in question E. and W. "To the W." he says, "the lofty Kilimanjáro, ... and in the E. the chains of the Teita mountains." Nor did subsequent experience alter his conclusion on this point. "The map which I sent home," he observes in the Introduction to his

Second Narrative, "together with the account of my first journey to Jagga, will make it superfluous to write always the various bearings of this second journey." A discrepancy of 45° in the relative bearings of two conspicuous mountains, implies such carelessness and disregard of accuracy as we would not willingly impute to any individual; we must therefore conclude that the note quoted above was written by Dr. Krapf.*

Thus Mr. Rebmann's testimony respecting the perpetual snows of Kilíma Njáro, proves, on close examination, to be singularly weak and obscure. He believes sincerely in their existence; but we are hardly sure that he ever speaks of them as an eye-witness, and in this capacity he himself confesses his incompetence. He appears to see the line of perpetual congelation, but not the well-marked forms beneath it. He fixes his eyes on abstractions, and closes them against realities. His snow wants the essential attributes of matter—extension and figure. Of the natural and necessary proportions of a rocky pile crowned with perpetual snow in equatorial latitudes, he seems to have ridiculously inadequate ideas. And will it be believed that the few meagre passages from his journal, quoted in the preceding pages, contain *every tittle of the information* relating to the physical character of so interesting and remarkable a locality, furnished by one who spent at least three months at the foot of Kilíma Njáro, in Chága or Majáme? He

* In these notes the language is Dr. Krapf's, and not Mr. Rebmann's; we hear of Kilimanjaro, not of Kilima-dja-aro.

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was there in the middle of the dry season; and again he was there during the rains; yet he does not vouchsafe a single remark on the altered scene, or on the varying phases of those snows which seemed to have engrossed all his faculties. Between the region where the ripe and decomposing bananas lay in such profusion as to taint the air, and the perpetual snow, there was doubtless much to be seen; rocks, forests, and verdant lawns, a grand and varied landscape. Mr. Rebmann saw nothing of it. In Africa, generally, the most populous districts, and those in which social life is most advanced, are found on the high grounds, near the sources of the rivers, and the herbaceous pastures. The heights of Kilíma Njáro, a mountain mass covering at least 150 square miles, might well be the abode of a secure and flourishing community. But Mr. Rebmann's enquiries apparently never reached so far. He heard nothing of the minerals which have made the mountain famous on the coast; but, on the other hand, he discovered what is quite unknown on the coast,—the "eternal snows."

On the 1st November, 1849, Dr. Krapf set forward from Rábè mpía, on his journey to Ukambá, the country of the Wakamba, a tribe dwelling in the interior N.W. of Mombas.* Early on the 9th, after two days' rest, he reached Maúngu, a hill a little to the N. of Kadiáro, and certainly not much above fifty miles from the coast. On his return he went over the same ground in three days, or less than half

* Missionary Intelligencer, vol. i. p. 398.

the time; so that we cannot help thinking that his estimate of thirty-three miles for his sixth day's march, is far in excess. No natives, carrying burdens, could be brought to make such a march. His estimates of other forced marches made further on by his party, in which were women and children, require to be much abridged. It appears, that from the summit of Maúngu, which is probably visible, like Kadiáro, from Rábè mpía, the Chága group of mountains may be seen above those of Teita. Dr. Krapf thus describes the view:—

"About 8 o'clock in the morning I had a fine view of the snow-capped mountain Kilimanjáro in Jagga. Even at this great distance I could immediately judge that the white matter I observed on and around the mountain's head could be nothing but snow, as Mr. Rebmann rightly judged, on his first journey to Jagga. That point of the snow mountain which I saw, towered over the high mountains Bũra and Ndára; which fact clearly shows that the height of Kilimanjáro must be such as to reach the snowy region." The logical justness of this last inference we deny totally. But Dr. Krapf does well in using the word "judge" in this case; for the "*â priori* reasonings, written in the cabinet," which he thinks to refute, questioned Mr. Rebmann's judgment only, and not his veracity.

From Maúngu, the road turned N. or N.E., and then W. round the northern end of the Teita mountains. The dry bed of the Wói was crossed on the 12th; and after two more long marches the Tsávo

was reached,—a fine river twenty feet wide, and two and a half deep, flowing tranquilly from Kilíma Njáro eastwards in a bed of fine red sand. A little further Mount Théuka rose over the western bank of the river. This mountain was deserted by its inhabitants a few years ago, in consequence of violent subterranean explosions heard in its neighbourhood which terrified them. "There is no doubt," observes Dr. Krapf, "that the whole country round the river Tsávo has, in former ages, undergone great changes by volcanic action." Indeed, he marched subsequently over a stratum of black porous stones, which he supposed to be burnt lava (Tufa). Under the date of the 16th November, we find the following entry in the Journal:—

"When the sky was clear to the westward, I saw the whole region of Jagga very distinctly. The Mount Kilimanjáro seemed to be distant only four or five days' journey. I saw its dome-like head glittering from a matter of transparent whiteness . . . . The Kilimanjáro has at some points deep ravines or incisions, as it were, which stretch from its lofty summit downwards to its base. In other places I observed very steep avenues leading to the summit; they appeared to me like perpendicular walls of rocks towering up as far as the mount's head. There, of course, the snow could remain as little as it could rest on the walls of a building."

Controversy sharpened the sight of Dr. Krapf, and in the course of this journey he seems to have had constantly before his eyes, that Kilíma Njáro which,

according to Mr. Rebmann, "is generally enveloped in clouds." But, notwithstanding his keenness of vision, the lower border of "the white matter," which he is so ready to convert into snow, still eludes his observation, nor does he say what share of the mountain the white matter occupies. A simple, unaffected, and unreserved description in the first instance, of the object in question, would have disarmed mistrust, and saved a world of argument. The transparency of the whiteness, as well as its evanescence elsewhere alluded to, is less characteristic of snow, which, taken in the mass, radiates rather than reflects the light, than of pure white quartz, as it is seen in the Cradock Mountains, at the Cape of Good Hope, or as it shines forth conspicuous among the snows of Altai.

On the 20th November, the fifteenth day of march, the road turned northwards; and on the following day our traveller descended to the river Adi, which forms, as he supposes, the south-western boundary of Ukamba. This river was then (in the dry season) about sixty feet wide, and eighteen inches deep. Its banks, twenty or twenty-five feet high, were adorned with large trees. It flows at the foot of a ridge or bank of earth, which seems to be the result of a great fracture and partial subsidence of the earth's crust, extending from near Mombas, some hundred and odd miles, irregularly north-westwards into the interior. This ridge is called by Dr. Krapf Ndungúni, which is, however, merely a local name, given to the spot where the ridge is crossed near Mombas, and improperly applied to it in its whole

extent. The ridge was ascended in a north-eastward direction to the plain of Yata, whence, on the follow-lowing day, the road led down to the wilderness of Tangái, through which the river Tiwa flows in the rainy season to join the Adi. The direct road from Mombas to Ukamba formerly passed through Tangái; but the frequent incursions of the Gallas, who occupy the hills near the coast, having interrupted the communication, it was found necessary to beat the circuitous path travelled by Dr. Krapf. From this low plain the snowy Kilíma Njáro (for the snow is never forgotten) was again seen towering above all the mountains to the westward of the route. On the 26th November, the twentieth day of march, the road having reached the conspicuous rock called Nsambani, turned due north, for "whereas," adds Dr. Krapf, "we had for several days travelled north-east." The territory of Kítui was now reached, and in a short time our traveller entered the hamlet of the same name, where he was well received by Kivoi, the chief. The communicative chief gave interesting intelligence, which is thus related by Dr. Krapf.

"In my second interview with Kivoi, I made mention of the snow mountain Kilimanjáro, in Jagga. Kivoi said that he had been in most countries of Jagga, and had seen the white matter on the Kilíma ja Jéu (Mountain of Whiteness), but that there was a second and still larger Kilíma ja Jéu between the countries Kikúyu, Mbé, and Uimbu, and that the river Dana rises from that mountain of whiteness. This being great news to me, I pressed Kivoi for

further information. He said, 'You will see both mountains at some distance from my hamlet, when there shall be a clear sky. It is ten days' journey from here to the White Mountain in Jagga, but only six to that of Kikúyu.' Afterwards, I went a few hundred yards from the hamlet to a somewhat elevated place, where I clearly saw the Kilimanjáro, the sky being clear in that direction. It lay south-west from the hamlet. But I could not see the new 'snow mountain' of which Kivoi had told me, although I observed something like a white stripe in a northern direction, in which the Wakamba who stood around me requested me to turn my eyes."

How provokingly Dr. Krapf eludes every opportunity of settling the point in dispute! He speaks often and confidently enough of the snow of Kilíma Njáro, yet when he meets with an intelligent native chief, whose language has a name for snow, he adopts a cautious phraseology, and talks of "the white matter." Why did he not ask Kivoi whether he knew the nature of that white matter? Then, as to the expression Kilíma ja Jéu (cha Chéu), we do not believe it ever came from Kivoi's mouth. Kilíma does not mean a mountain; mountain of whiteness for white mountain is a piece of affectation, of which we believe the honest African incapable; and though the word *chéu*, white, wanting in the languages around Ukamba, may be found in the Sichuana, yet the expression Kilíma cha Chéu is evidently deficient in genuine grammar. But let us hasten forward to get a view of the new snow mountain Kénia, "as the

natives call the mountain and the white matter seen on it," wondering, by the way, why the Wakamba, in whose language *kibó* means snow, should call the "white matter" *kénia*. Dr. Krapf, departing from Kítui, relates as follows:—

"After a walk of 3 or 4 miles, we arrived at an elevated spot, where I enjoyed the great pleasure of distinctly seeing the Kénia. The sky being clear, I got a full sight of this snow mountain, which I had been told by Kivoi is situated between Kikúyu and Uimbu.* It stretches from E. to N.W. by W. It appeared to be like a gigantic wall, on whose summit I observed two gigantic towers or horns, as you may call them. These horns or towers, which are at a short distance from each other, give the mountain a grand and majestic appearance, which raised in my mind overwhelming feelings. The Kilimanjáro in Jagga has a dome-like summit, but the Kénia has the form of a gigantic roof, over which its horns rise like two mighty pillars, which I have no doubt are seen by the inhabitants of the countries bordering on the northern latitudes of the equator. Still less do I doubt that the volume of water which the Kénia issues to the N. runs toward the basin of the White Nile."

Here the reader will observe there is no mention whatever of the snow on Kénia, bating the pre-conceived title "snow mountain," which begs the question. There is no description of the snow as to depth and

* Missionary Intelligencer, vol. i. p. 470.

distribution. We are not told whether the two peaks or horns are covered with snow or naked, nor whether the line of perpetual snow (for doubtless Dr. Krapf's snows are all "eternal") be on the wall-like ridge beneath the horns. The wretchedly jejune account just quoted is all that is told us of the gigantic mountain by one who viewed it from a distance of a six days' journey (sixty geographical miles). But Dr. Krapf returned again to Kítui; went three days further N., and therefore within three days of Kénia, and spent two or three months in Ukamba, and yet we hear not a word more from him respecting the great mountain to the north. He calls it by a title to him familiar, "snow mountain;" the editorial echo repeats "stupendous snow mountain;" and the voice of echo spreads far and wide. But to return to the native accounts, Dr. Krapf's journal thus continues:

"In another interview which I had with Kivoi, he expressed a wish that the Governor of Mombas would send his boats up the river Dana, and fetch his (Kivoi's) ivory by water, as by this means the trouble of the cafila going through the Wanika country might be avoided. On my asking him how deep the river was, and whether there were any rocks in it, he stated that there were no rocks at all, and that the water reached a man's neck in the dry season, whereas, during the rains the river was impassable. He further stated that its ordinary breadth was about 200 yards, and that it was the privilege of the people of Mbé to carry strangers, proceed-

ing to Kikúyu, or other countries, from one bank to the other.* This information gratified me much indeed, since I had long ago conceived the idea of penetrating the interior by that river, which is on the maps called Quilimancy, but should properly be written Kilimansi (Kilima, 'mountain;' mansi, 'water;') mountain-water, referring, as it seems to me, to the snow-mountain Kénia, as the natives call the mountain and the white matter seen on it—of Kikúyu, where the river Dana takes its rise, according to the universal report of the natives."

We wish Dr. Krapf had pointed out more particularly the river by which he thought of penetrating to the interior, for his design must of course have had reference to some river of the coast. No maps of the present day of any value mark a river Quilimancy on the eastern coast of Africa, because there is no river there so called. But, says our learned missionary, it should properly be written Kilimansi. Properly, indeed! How can propriety be affirmed of a name formed by crushing two African words in a German mould. The expression "Mountain-water" exemplifies Teutonic idiom; but Kilíma-mansi, or Kilíma da mansi, unclipped and uncrushed, would sound as ridiculous and barbarous to an African, as mons-aqua to a Roman ear. We doubt whether mansi (for máji, water,) be used on

* Mbé is apparently a general term for strangers. The word ulu, also, which often occurs in Dr. Krapf's journal is not a proper name, but signifies above, higher up, beyond; kahi means between, intervening.

the coast anywhere north of the Makúa; but the decisive point is, that Kilíma does not signify a mountain, in the sense assumed by Dr. Krapf, but a hill or rising ground of the humblest kind, as is evident from the name Kirima-ni or Kilima-ni given to places of very moderate elevation.*

But can we not decide which was the river called Quilimanci by early Geographers? Certainly we can. If it were not that geography, as a popular study, often falls into the hands of the ignorant and presumptuous, no dispute could have ever arisen on the subject. The first writer who mentions this name, and who is copied, with little variation, by most of those who follow him, is the Portuguese historian, João de Barros. According to him, the river Oby (Webbe), the Rhaptus of Ptolemy, rising in the mountains of Graro (Gára means mountain in Galla), in Adea (the Somâli country, adjacent to Abessinia on the S.E.), enters the sea near a village named Quilimanci, whence the people on the coast gave it this name.† He errs greatly when he places the mouth of this river in lat. 9° N.; yet this error determines his meaning and reveals some acquaintance with the course of the Webbe. Furthermore he informs us that this river separates Ajan on the N. from Zanguebar on the S. From all this it is evident

* Whence comes it that Dr. Krapf, in his "Vocabulary of Six East-African Languages" (Tübingen, 1850), gives for hill, m'rima mdogo, little mountain, and not the regular and usual diminutive, kiríma, or kilíma.

† Decade I. viii. p. 154.

that he had in view the Webbe, Nile of Makádisho, river of Doára, Dokho, or, as some now call it, Haines's river, which he supposed to receive the Jubah; or in other words, his river of Quilimanci was that which is now called the river of Jubah, the Govind or Vumbu, 15 minutes S. of the line. It is true that he speaks of an expedition sent to examine "a branch of the Oby which enters the sea at Culimanja, about a league from Melinde." But this sentence can embarrass those only who are not acquainted with the peculiar geographical language of the 16th century. We know certainly, that there is no river whatever within a mile of the site of Malinda; that the Portuguese, within a few years after doubling the Cape of Good Hope, had seized and ransacked every place of importance between Kílwa and Páta; that they had searched every creek and cranny on the coast, particularly near Malinda; and that in the ample records remaining of their proceedings, there is no mention whatever of a town or river named Quilimanci.

On the other hand we know that a long tract of Eastern Africa bore the name of Costa da Melinde, or briefly, Melinde: undefined southwards towards Kílwa, it is madé almost always to terminate in the north at the equator. Jarric indeed in the 18th century, states that the coast from Mosambique to Guardafuni "is all Abex (Habesh or Abessinia), though the Portuguese call it Melinde." Pigafetta, at an earlier date, employs more definite language.

He says that "Melinde extends northwards to the Chimanci (Chilimanci), which is navigable 100 miles up to the lake Calice (the Arabic Khalíj);"* the meaning of this expression needs not to be here discussed. It will be sufficient to remark, that, when he proceeds to describe the people on the sea-side (presso il mare), and along the river (lungo la ripa), his description exactly represents the Bajúna, north of the line, between the Webbe and the coast. His Chimanci, therefore, is evidently the Oby of De Barros; its mouth, that of the Jubah; while his lake Calice or Khalíj is the creek marking the ancient and perhaps still the occasional junction of the two rivers. When De Barros, therefore, speaks of the mouth of the Oby, at Culimanja or Quilimanci, a league from Melinde, he merely means to say that the village so named (possibly Jubah) was a league north of the river, the coast of Malinda commencing on the south. Thus was he understood by Livio Sanuto, who writes:—"Quilimanci is a place in this kingdom (Adea in Abessinia, supposed to extend down to Makádisho), at the mouth of the Oby, near the kingdom of Melinde." One author, Alonso de Sandoval, in copying the text of De Barros, ventures also to suggest a correction, for he writes "Quilimane or Quilimangi," and doubtless the first of these is the true expression.† Nor is it hard to explain why no navigator ever found the village indicated by De Barros, for the historian or his informant probably

* Pigafetta, Relatione del Reame di Congo, p. 76.

† Historia de Ethiopia, 1646, p. 235.

mistook the word, used in its general acceptation, for a proper name; and, in fact, Kilima-ni (literally, "on the bank"), in the mouth of a Sawáhili pilot, often signifies simply "on shore." Faria de Sousa, an indifferent geographer, and swayed doubtless by the reports connecting the rivers of Kílwa (the Kuávi and Lufíji) with the great lake of the interior, sets the Quilimanci in lat. 9° S., that is, at Kílwa; but in so doing he stands alone. Some charts of the 17th century placed a Quelimani between Malinda and Kilífi, and this circumstance no doubt induced D'Anville to lead his Quilimanci to the same point, where there is not in fact any river.*

Dr. Krapf says, in a tone of triumph, "We know now that the Pangáni and Sabáki rise from the snow mountain Kilimanjaro, and that the Dana and the Osi spring from the Kénia." Now the truth is, that we know nothing whatever on these points but Dr. Krapf's conjectures, which appear to be without authority, if not actually against it. He himself tells us that the rivers which he supposes to run from Kilíma Njáro into the Pangáni or Ruvú (for he confounds these two streams), are said by the natives to join the Ozi. The Sabáki, the true position of which on the coast he mistakes, is a small river, entering, not the "Bay of Malinda" (an obsolete and incorrect expression), but Pamamba or Hippopotamus (commonly called Formosa) Bay.† It takes its name,

* Livro do Estado da India Oriental, 1646; Sloane MSS., Brit. Mus. No. 197.

† Mamba is the hippopotamus. The prefix *p* always refers to *mahali* or *pahali*, place.

doubtless, from the town of Sabáki, which stands on a hill visible to the north-west from Malinda, and is said to be near the Ozi, fifteen days up this river.* This circumstance, together with Khamís ben Othmán's opinion, that the Sabáki is a branch of the Ozi, leads to the conclusion that the Ozi flows under the hills in which the Sabáki has its sources, and that the Tsavo (Chavo) and Adi, which really do derive their waters, wholly or in part, from Kilíma Njáro, run into or form the Ozi. In truth, the word Adi appears to us to be identical with Ozi, and to differ from it only through that dialectic peculiarity of pronunciation which has made Dr. Krapf write Dana also for Zana, the Pocómo word for river. We see no reason to believe the Ozi to be a great river, and certainly it owes but little to "plenteous snow stores." During the rains it pours down immense floods, the copiousness of which, at the close of the season, is obviously attributable to the draining of a wide extent of inundated country; but, in the dry season, it is so shallow on the bar, that it may be waded over, the water barely reaching the knee. At Káo, twenty miles up, it is not so wide but that people on its banks may easily hold conversation with those on the island. Sultan Fomalút of Káo, who went a two months' voyage (200 or 300 miles) up the river, to explore it, reported that it flowed through a great extent of low country with mangrove thickets, and that, where he turned back, there was no appear-

* Owen, Capt. W. F. W., Narrative of Voyages, &c. vol. i. p. 396.

ance of its termination, but that the navigation was much hindered by the boughs of trees hanging over the river. From all this we may conclude that, at the furthest point reached by him, the river was still flowing through the plain, and that its breadth could not have much exceeded 100 feet. With respect to the Dana, which Dr. Krapf identifies with the Ozi, without alleging any authority for so doing,—for the fact that both names have the same meaning, river, tends rather to mislead than inform—we have nothing to guide us in determining its outlet on the coast. But it is well to bear in mind that there is a considerable river behind Páta Island, and that a stream or two enter the sea between Shamba and Port Durnford, where the break in the coral formation indicates the action of fresh water.

The geographical information collected by Dr. Krapf in Ukamba is scanty enough, considering that he spent two or three months in that country, and it is, at the same time, so confused and indefinite as to be nearly valueless; so far as it calls for our notice, it is all contained in the following paragraph:—

"I made acquaintance with a merchant from Uembu, a country which is two days' journey north-east from the river Dana. This man gave me much important information; viz. that at the foot of the snow mountain Ndurkenia, or Kirenia, was a lake, from which the Dana, the Tumbiri, and the Nsaraddi rivers do flow. The Dana and Tumbiri rivers, he said, flowed into the east sea, that is, the Indian Ocean; but that the Nsaraddi takes its course towards a still

larger lake, called Baringo, the end of which could not be reached under very many (even 100) days' journey. He said it was five days from Uembu to Kirenia, and thence nine days' journey to Baringo, which means as much as Great Sea. And now we know almost for certain where the sources of the Nile are to be looked for, viz. in the lake Ndurkenia, from which flows the Nsaraddi, this again flowing through Baringo."*

It is amusing to observe with what confidence Dr. Krapf sets about solving that ancient and, we think, overvalued geographical problem, of the sources of the Nile, without ever fixing, or attempting to fix, with exactness, the position of the locality which he selects for them. He is nearly certain that the sources of the Nile are in Ndurkenia; and where is Ndurkenia? It is 200 geographical miles, at least, east of the place assigned to it in Dr. Krapf's map and imagination. In his map is to be found the name Usámbiro, on the north-eastern side of what he calls Uniamési. This name was thought by some to be the original of Zambre; but it was undoubtedly only another form of Tsamburu, which figures in the same map in a very different position—north of Kenia. A third form of the name, Zamburu, hovers between both: sometimes it seems to settle on Kenia, and Dr. Krapf sallies forth to travel through "Ukamba, Mbellete, Zamburu, and Kikúyu"; again, we are told, "Zamburu lies near the sources of the White River.

* Missionary Intelligencer, vol. iii. p. 37.; comp. 77

It is probably the same with Dambaro, near Kaffa." Thus he makes the White Nile flow, at one moment, from a common source with the Chadda and Kilimani (Zambéze); at another, he derives it from the neighbourhood of Kaffa; and now, again, he sets its sources in Ndurkenia, in long. 38° 30′ E., whence it flows north-eastwards!

The account of the three rivers issuing from the one lake must of course be rejected; absurd in itself, it is also irreconcileable with the distinct account, elsewhere given, of the course of the Dana. Respecting the Tumbiri (perhaps the Tsamburu already alluded to), represented, in the loosest manner, as flowing through the country of the Wakuavi to the Indian Ocean, we can offer nothing in explanation except the remark, that, between Páta and the Jubah, three rivers reach the sea, at Port Durnford, Shamba, and Túla. The Nsaradi is probably the Govind or river of Jubah, which the Uembu merchant traces down for nine days to the Baringo (evidently resolved into Bahri-nku) or Great Sea. Now, when Kivoi, on some occasion, told Dr. Krapf of a great bahr north of Kikúyu, the latter inclined to believe that it was a river, and not a sea or lake, which his informant had in view; and why might not this great bahr, which "has no end, although one should travel 100 days to see the end," be a river also? The native information may therefore be thus interpreted:—The Khalíj, or wide creek in the Govind (Nsaradi), which at least indicates and leads to the lower end of the Webbe or Nile of

Makádisho, if it be not actually reached by this river in the floods, is nine days from Kirenia, and the Webbe is the Baringo or Great Water, traced upwards in the African manner, without regard to the direction of its course and current. But, indeed, it is obvious that a river which is lost in the sand, and has no outlet, and which increases as ascended for perhaps 200 miles, might, in the season of inundation, with an average breadth of 4 or 5 miles, be easily mistaken for a lake. Mr. J. Studdy Leigh, who made an excursion from Bravah to that river in November, 1836, and was the first European, as far as we know, who beheld it, was told by the natives that its sources were so far off that none of their number had ever reached them. This is plainly but another version of the statement that the bahr has no end, though one should travel 100 days in search of it. The reports brought home, of late years, respecting the Webbe, fully vindicate the importance attached to it by the natives, who have always regarded it as the greatest of all the rivers of that region. No European has yet seen it during the floods, and we have therefore but an imperfect conception of its magnitude.

The explanation here given of the native accounts has the effect, to be sure, of removing the Ndurkenia mountain completely from the basin of the White Nile, and thus cancelling its claim to be considered as the Mountains of the Moon. But the object of our research is Truth, not the Mountains of the Moon. We leave the care and carriage of these

mountains (and they often change place) to the headstrong partisans of what may be called by geographers the Lunatic System, and are content ourselves to trudge along patiently in the path of reason. And what is more reasonable than to suppose mountains participating in the general climate of the region in which they stand — deluged in wet climates; parched in dry? What, on the other hand, can be more paradoxical and absurd than to suppose the river Ozi, own brother of the Nile, and that snows are piled on mountains not above 150 miles from the Indian Ocean in order to fertilise Egypt, 2000 miles off, while the country around these snows pines with comparative drought? for Dr. Krapf himself informs us that Ukamba, where he approached within three days of Ndurkenia, is a dry country, and a short way north of that mountain we arrive at the desert and the land of the camel; indeed, Dr. Krapf speaks even of camel-dealing in Mbellete, at the northern foot of the mountain, and it is certain that the celebrity of the Webbe is due, not so much to its magnitude, as to the circumstance that it irrigates and fertilises a country which would otherwise be a desert. Let it be observed, also, that the White Nile emphatically disclaims any obligation to snow; for, of its many distinctions, one of the most remarkable is, that, in the dry season, it becomes, for hundreds of miles, a stagnant and putrid pool.

It will be vain to contest the position which we have assigned to Dr. Krapf's new snow mountain, or to endeavour to carry it further in. We have

strained every point to spare the incorrectness we had to deal with. A rigorous investigation, if insisted on, will surely place Kítui, and consequently Mount Kénia or Ndurkenia, which is due north of that place, further east. This is easily demonstrated. We know, from Mr. Rebmann, that Kilíma Njáro is ten days from Mombas; we are willing to allow twelve. Now, it was on the seventh day of his march that Dr. Krapf, who fancies that he strides like a giant, reached Maúngu, exactly fifty-four miles from his starting-point. From this point he saw the Bura and Ndara mountains N. W.; and over them, consequently also to the N. W., Kilíma Njáro. This bearing, at variance with Mr. Rebmann's, betrays, as we have already shown, the author of the notes to Mr. Rebmann's account of his second journey. Here Dr. Krapf makes the following remark, which must appear very singular when compared with his map: — "His (Mr. Rebmann's) direction was west by north, while my route was north by west." On the twelfth day he passed under Mount Ngolia, which Mr. Rebmann had seen on his seventh day's march, two days distant to the N. E. On his thirteenth day Dr. Krapf saw Kilíma Njáro, distant four or five days due west; consequently, Kikúmbuliu, where he arrived on the fourteenth or fifteenth day, was still west of that mountain. He has subsequently twice proved that this place is distant from Mombas but a nine days' journey. Soon after, the road turned N. E.; from Tangai he again saw Kilima Njáro towering above the mountains in the west; and, at last, on his arrival in

Kítui, the same summit rose in the S. W., at an estimated distance of ten days. From Kítui Dr. Krapf returned to the coast in sixteen days, and yet he reckons the distance at 400 miles; nay, including three days further to the river Dana, he reckons his whole journey at 550 miles. But we have seen that Dr. Krapf, when going parallel to the coast, never travelled above twelve and a half miles (in geographical miles of projected distance, eight and a half) a day. We have made a great stretch of indulgence, therefore, in allowing him and Mr. Rebmann sixteen statute miles for the day's march in their journeys to the interior. The circuitous route to Kítui could hardly have exceded 260, and was probably under 230 miles. Now, it may be easily demonstrated that, if Maúngu be four days west of Mombas, Kilíma Njáro six days N. W. of Maúngu and ten days S. W. of Kítui, the meridian of the last-named place is but a day and a fifth west of that of Mombas; so that, if Dr. Krapf's bearings be strictly adhered to, and the day's march be reduced to twelve and a half miles, Kítui will stand within sixty miles of the sea.

Among the important discoveries claimed by Dr. Krapf, is that of a single family of languages prevailing throughout Africa, south of the equator. It is certain, nevertheless, that he had read, in the Memoir on the Geography of Nyassi, published in 1845, the following passage: "From the confines of the Hottentots in the south, to the equator on the eastern coast, and to Cameroons on the western, there is but one family of languages, which may be appropriately

called the Zingian family." The merit, therefore, of announcing the radical unity of hundreds of tongues spoken far and wide, does not in truth belong to Dr. Krapf, but merely that of rejecting the title Zingian, which was derived from Zinj or Zing, plural Zenúj or Zenúg, the ancient and general name given to the aboriginal tribes of Eastern Africa by the Arabs, and tracéable in Ptolemy. And what but a wanton affectation of originality could have induced Dr. Krapf to prefer entitling the kindred languages of Southern Africa, Nilotic, since it is obvious that the great majority, at least, of the tribes speaking those languages are far removed from the Nile? and, indeed, he himself unconsciously discloses the incorrectness of the expression, when he informs us that he reached in Ukamba the northern boundary (in that quarter) of this family of languages; which is as much as to say, that, as far as his knowledge goes, the Nilotic family of languages nowhere extends into the basin of the Nile.

The chief, if not the only, exceptions to the universality of the Zingian family of languages on the eastern side of Africa, occur in the Galla and Wakuávi tribes, the former near the coast, the latter wandering over the plains west and south of Ukamba. It is to be regretted that Dr. Krapf gives no account of the Wakuávi, who are evidently of Abessinian origin, probably from the left bank of the Gojeb. He does not even tell us how they call themselves. Neither does he bestow four sentences on the Wasegéju, who dwell on the coast south of Mombas.

Their clay caps attracted the notice of Malte-Brun. But these people have another claim to attention, for they have figured in history. The Mossequejos (the same people), a valiant, pastoral tribe, saved Mombas from the Zimbas in 1589: and there is ground for suspecting that they also, though now assimilated in language and manners with their immediate neighbours, are originally from the borders of Abessinia. With respect to the cutlery of the Meremongáo (Wakamba) also, which is said to be excellent,—their iron, of the best possible quality, being exported to India and the Persian Gulf,—Dr. Krapf is quite silent. Neither has his visit to Usambára on the Pangáni thrown the least light on the reputed dense population of Kazíta and Vúga.

On the other hand, Dr. Krapf establishes fully, though indirectly, the important fact that there is no chain of mountains, no edge of a great table land, running parallel to the coast in Eastern Africa. All the mountains that he saw, those of Usambára, Páre, Teita, Kilíma Njáro, and Kénia, are insulated groups, rising from a sea-like plain, supposed by him to reach to the heart of the continent, and which may be suspected even of sinking to some distance westward. He and Mr. Rebmann give the names of a dozen nations between Kilíma Njáro and Moenemoézi. The wide distance between the last-named country and the basin of the Nile will appear from the following short narrative:—"Bana Kheri said that he had made a journey of fifty days from Puge (a tribe of Uniamesi), to a country called Ujambara, in the north

of Uniamesi. From Ujambara he went down a river of the same name. Having sailed down on the river for the space of six days, he was seized with fever and compelled to abstain from proceeding to the west coast, as he had intended. He said his companions did actually go to the west coast." Now it is quite clear that any river flowing from east to west, fifty days north of Pughe, must either be the Nile or be south of the Nile, since the Nile cannot flow across it; consequently, there is a distance of fifty days' journey, or 300 geographical miles, at the least, between the northernmost part of Moenemoézi and the Nile.

In surveying the labours of Dr. Krapf as a traveller, it is impossible not to be struck with the loftiness of his ambition, and the resolute energy with which he aims at solving single-handed, for he repels every aid, all the great problems of African geography. He holds that, in Africa, geographical discovery must precede evangelisation, and that it will be time enough to think of cultivating a corner of the immense vineyard, when the whole of it shall have been explored. But the weakness of ambition is manifest in his blind attachment to grand problems, and his disinclination to relinquish the delusions connected with them. Miserably poor in facts, he is profuse of theory, his distances are exaggerated, his bearings all in disorder, his etymologies puerile, and he seems to want altogether those habits of mental accuracy without which active reason is a dangerous faculty. Discoveries and theories of so loose a texture as his

must necessarily give rise to doubt and discussion. Without such discussion, of which he appears to be impatient, what is to become of the interests of truth? All human truths require for their recognition a certain measure and fulness of light, which we have a right to demand of their promulgators. Science owes nothing to oracles. Geography, in particular, owing to its easy accessibility and popular nature, is liable to be hindered in its progress by superficial learning, system building, and empty pretension. Discoveries are sure to come into vogue if they be only wonderful and novel; their authenticity is the last thing thought of. It is clear that geography can never be advanced to the rank of science unless by the constant application of exact, searching, and rigorous criticism. The justness of these remarks will be obvious to Dr. Krapf when he considers that geographers are even now busily rearing, avowedly on his authority, chains of mountains and tablelands in Eastern Africa, where he saw nothing of the kind; and that the most distorted and confessedly erroneous portion of his map is precisely that which has been selected as the basis of speculation. With respect to those eternal snows on the discovery of which Messrs. Krapf and Rebmann have set their hearts, they have so little of shape or substance, and appear so severed from realities, that they take quite a spectral character. No one has yet witnessed their eternity: dogmatic assertion proves nothing; of reasonable evidence of perpetual snow there is not a tittle offered. The only sentence in Mr. Rebmann's journal which ven-

tures to touch upon the fact of a fall of snow, is, as has been shown, neither genuine nor correct. We cannot help concluding, therefore, that the existence of perpetual snow in Eastern Africa has not been as yet satisfactorily established.

But Kilíma Njáro, even without snow, is a very lofty mountain; and, since it is probably not above 120 miles from the sea, perhaps not much above 100, we might reasonably expect that it would be occasionally visible from the masthead; and, indeed, if it be not visible from sea, it will be difficult to find the meaning of the following words of a very perspicuous and, for his age, well-informed writer, Fernandez d' Enciso, who, speaking of Mombas, says "And west of this port stands the Mount Olympus of Ethiopia, which is exceedingly high, and beyond it are the Mountains of the Moon, whence are the sources of the Nile." * Here the supereminently lofty single mountain, Olympus, is clearly distinguished from the theoretical mountains of geographers.

There still remains for consideration the southern, and not the least interesting, portion of our map. The Portuguese historians inform us that the empire of Monomotapa was bounded on the west by the country called Butua or Abutua, the inhabitants of which were totally distinct from the Mucaranga. In the southern part of the same empire was Mañísa, an

* "Y al oeste deste puerto (Mombaça) esta el monte Olimpo Etiopico, que es altissimo, y adelante del estan los Montes de Luna, a do son los nacimientos del Nilo." Suma de Geographia, 1530, fol. 54. In the first edition, 1518, the folios are not numbered.

elevated valley encircled by hills. This valley was the chief source of the gold of Sofálah. But Abutua also produced gold; the auriferous ground, always distinguishable by its extreme barrenness, was called Matúca; its occupants were the Botonga. This, it may be observed, was the name of the people dwelling behind Inhambane, and mixed in that place with the Mucaranga, who appear to have considered them as their southern neighbours in a general sense. When the native boatmen on the Zambeze use the words Bororo and Botonga, to signify the north and south respectively, they refer, not to the shores of the river, but to distant nations. We have no information respecting the natural landmarks between Monomotapa and Abutua; but we are told that the latter country abounds in salt, which is wholly wanting in the former, as well as from the Zambeze northwards to Nyassa. Hence the comparatively moderate elevation of Abutua might be safely inferred. Mañísa and the adjacent provinces are described as elevated, dry, and extremely cold. The people of Abutua were said to communicate frequently with the western coast.* The name Butua or Abutua is given equally to the people and to the country; but we have little doubt that it belongs properly to the former, and that it is the word Batóa, "people" or "nations," which in those countries is often applied to Bushmen, or to strangers, in a somewhat disparaging sense, as in our expressions Heathen and Gentiles. The name Botonga, also, would be better written Batonga.

* Joao dos Santos, Ethiopia Oriental, 1609, fol. 55.

The country of Butúa, or rather of the Batóa, has been recently visited, and found to present highly interesting and unexpected features, of which, in a coherent form at least, the Portuguese seem never to have received the least intimation. In July, 1849, a party of English travellers, namely, W. Cotton Oswell, Esq., of the Madras Civil Service, the Rev. Daniel Livingstone, Missionary, and Mr. Murray, reached by great exertions the shores of Lake Ngami, in lat. 20° 20′ S., long. 23° 30′ E.* From this lake, a river—the Zouga—200 yards wide, flows E. and S. E. irregularly, about 300 miles, till it is lost in the sands. After crossing an almost waterless desert of deep sand, the travellers beheld with delight the fine river, and the lake extending out of sight to the north and west, its banks shaded with trees of great size. But they were still more pleased with the intelligence that, on the north and west, rivers flowed into the lake, communicating with other and greater rivers, and that there lay towards the N. E. a great extent of navigable waters. To the examination of these they returned the following year, and, crossing the Zouga to the northward, they drove their wagons to the banks of the Chóbe, a fine navigable river, in lat. 18° 23′ S., long. 26° E., and thus penetrated to a distance of at least 2000 miles from Cape Town. Descending the Chóbe some distance, in a canoe, they visited Sebitoane (rather, perhaps, Sibatoani), the paramount chief of all this country, who returned

* Journal of the Royal Geographical Society, vol. xx. pp. 138. 143.

with them, and, falling sick, unfortunately died at their encampment. Leaving their wagons at the Chóbe, they proceeded on horseback about 100 miles further N.E., to the banks of the Seshéke (sand-banks), in lat. 17° 28′ S., and found it to be from 300 to 500 yards wide, with a great volume of water and considerable swell. The natives all agreed in stating that it comes from Lobale, above 400 miles distant, northwards or N. N. W. About four days' journey below the point reached by the travellers, it forces its way in a contracted channel through some rocky hills, and is at length precipitated with such noise and vapour as to procure for the spot the name of Mosi wa thunya or Smoke-sounds (roaring vapours). Lower down it is joined by another river of less magnitude, the Maninchi or Bashukolompo, and the united waters then take the name of Zabeza or Zambéze. The Chóbe also flows into the Seshéke from the west, and these rivers are reported to be furthermore connected with each other, and with Lake Ngami and its rivers, by numerous tranverse canals, which make of them, in the floods at least, a single system of waters. The Seshéke, or river of Barotse (but neither of these appellations appears to be the proper name of the river), the centre of the system, and the largest of all the streams connected with it, appears to inundate the adjacent country to a distance of 15 miles from its banks. In fact, the country round the lower course of these rivers must present, in copious floods, the appearance of a sea, the limits of which are not easily assigned. The whole region, overspread and

interlaced with swamps, rivers, and tranverse canals, as represented in the map founded on native information, has an extent, from east to west, of 400 or 500 miles. In the latitude of Lake Ngami, also, but from three to six degrees further east, are immense salt-pans—that of Twetwe being supposed to have a length of 100 miles,—which are, of course, occasionally lakes. But the filling of the salt lakes and the general inundation of the country seem to take place only occasionally, and not periodically. The climate is dry; little rain falls, and the floods which give fertility to the soil come from a great distance. But they are sometimes delayed and deficient in quantity. Such appears to have been the case both in 1849 and 1850, so that it still remains doubtful whether the inundation of the country and its conversion into a great lake, interspersed with islands, be a frequent or a rare phenomenon.

It is long since the Bachuana first made known the existence of a great inland sea, to the N. of their country. Dr. Campbell, in 1815, heard of the Lake Mampúru, *i. e.* the roaring of lions, which proves to be Lake Ngami. The native accounts, however, do not all point to this lake, but rather to the inundated country further N. and N. E., and which is occasionally a great sea, or to some branch of that great system of waters. One of the Sichuana names of a great lake in the N. expresses its purgative quality, and therefore indicates a salt lake. The Noka a Batletle (Hottentots' lake or river) is said to be a six weeks' journey distant

from the Bamangwatu. The Amazulu call the lake Ukulu, and say that it is three months distant from their country. Others name the sea near which Sibatoani lived Macori, which perhaps means canoes.* The country round the lake is low, and covered with a white incrustation, doubtless the salt of Butúa. The water of the lake is said to run always in the same direction, which alludes probably to the motion of the waves, and testifies to the constancy of the winds during the season of the floods. The French Protestant missionaries in the country of the Basúto heard of Lake Marabaï, and supposed very erroneously that under this name Lake Marávi was intended.† The chiefs' title, Marávi, is used by the Portuguese, but not by the natives, as a designation of country. The Marabaï of Arbousset is obviously the Omaribai of Campbell; and in the form of the latter word it is easy to recognise the dialect of the western coast, whence most of the tribes about Lake Ngami appear to be derived. The French missionaries learned also that Lake Marabaï is fed by the river Toubatsi, of which the Mogomatsi is a branch, and that it is surrounded by deep and dangerous bogs. These dangerous bogs occur frequently in the plains of Butúa and in Lobale. Toubatsi is probably the true general name of the river which Messrs. Oswell and Livingstone call the Seshéke. The name Toubatsi brings to mind the Lake Timbáze, of which

* Information furnished by Dr. Andrew Smith.

† Arbousset et Daumas, Narration d'un Voyage d'Exploration, &c. p. 364.

the Arab Mohammed ben Ahmed heard on the shores of Nyassa, as being a month distant to the W. (S.W.).

The people dwelling on the shores of Lake Ngami are chiefly Batoani, a small Bechuana tribe, and the Batletle, Baclecle, or Bayeye, whose Bechuana name, derived from the unutterable *qâqa*, men, betrays their Hottentot origin. They are called also Bakóba or serfs. These people, who have come from the Damara country, on the western coast, are the active boatmen and fishermen of the lake. Bushmen, also, of Hottentot race inhabit the desert above the Zouga; but they are not famished or diminutive, as their desert is far from being unproductive. The country of the great waters N. and N.E. is called Linokanoka, or rivers on rivers. It is in many places difficult of access, owing to the dangerous bogs and quagmires besetting it; yet it appears to grow populous towards the N., and the tribes enumerated as dwelling along the rivers are numerous. Eighty chief towns or villages acknowledged the authority of Sibatoani, whose power has now devolved on his daughter, residing at Barotse. Her own tribe are the Makalólo. The agents of the slave trade reached this country for the first time in 1850. A party of people called Mambári, who came from the west, bought about 200 boys in Sibatoani's towns, and induced his people to join them on a marauding expedition eastwards.

The first question suggested by these interesting discoveries is: Whether the great river formed by the junction of the Seshéke and Maninchi, and which takes the name of Zabeza or Zambéze, be identical

with the Zambéze of Monomotapa, lower down called the Cuama. This must be answered in the negative; for the waters of the interior are lowest in March and April, when the Cuama is quite full, and the floods are at their height in July and August, when the Cuama is hardly navigable for a boat.* This plain, unequivocal, well-determined fact sets the question completely at rest, and proves that no connection whatever exists between these two Zambézes, the sources of which respectively lie in totally different climates. The contrast between the two rivers is as strong as possible. The eastern Zambéze sinks so low in July, that the greater part of its bed is laid dry, and becomes for a time the chief road of the country. The uncovered mud banks rise twenty feet above the water, and the river is fordable a short distance above Tete; while, at the same season, an immense flood sweeps through the plains of the interior, at a distance perhaps of 500 miles; a distance which a flood might easily descend in five days. On the other hand, when the eastern river is pouring down its torrents, the same plains are quite dry and glittering with saline incrustations. It is remarkable that the information of these well-travelled natives should have terminated at the point where their river takes the name of Zambéze. May they not have passed over at this point from experience to

* Dos Santos, Ethiopia Oriental, liv. 1. fol. 45.; Botelho, Memoria Estatistica, &c. 1835, p. 243.; Lieutenant Browne's Voyage to Sena in the Journal of the Royal Geographical Society, vol. ii. p. 138-9.

theory? They pointed out highlands towards the S.E. and E., in the very direction of the united waters; and if the river changes its course completely, and, flowing northwards from the plain to the mountain, forces a way through the latter, it is not easy to explain how they came to omit so striking a fact. But, on the other hand, the disappearance of a great river by absorption and evaporation is a fact of a somewhat negative character, and, not falling at once within the grasp of the senses, would naturally fail to be recognised by ignorant and superficial observers.*

Although the non-identity of the river of Butúa with that of Monomopata needs no further proof, yet we cannot avoid representing how incredible it is that the Portuguese should have been settled on the Zambéze, for three centuries, without ever learning its true course, or even the fact that it is still a great river above Zumbo. They have long believed, and still believe, that its sources are in Mañísa and not far from those of the river Sáve. This opinion rests, doubtless, on the reports of the Muzimbazes or native mercantile travellers, who cross the country in all directions. But the Portuguese themselves have occasionally ventured as far as Zumbo or Mañísa, and, in the middle of the last century, the latter country was explored by a well-informed naturalist, Manoel

* That the Seshćke joins the Zambéze or Cuama is evidently not the statement of the natives, but only the conjecture of our travellers.—See Journal of the Royal Geographical Society, vol. xxi. p. 24.

Galvao de Silva. It is worthy of remark that Delagoa Bay owes its name to the belief, founded on native reports, that its northern river, named afterwards, by Lourenço Marques, the Espiritu Santo, and now the King George's River or Manissa of our charts, flows from a great lake; that is to say, the early native accounts connected the floods of the Seshéke with the Limpopo*; hence it is obvious that, when De Barros described the great lake with populous islands, whence both the Zambéze and the Espiritu Santo flow round Monomotapa, so as to make it an island, he had in view the floods of the Seshéke. It is possible that Dos Santos also had the same picture before his mind when speaking, but not confidently, of the source of the Zambéze. But these writers, or De Barros at all events, in adopting the views of the natives, have furnished us indirectly with proof that these views were erroneous; for statements of such a character and from such authorities would necessarily have been believed and acted on till refuted by experience; but, at the present day, they are not believed on the banks of the Zambéze.†

* Decade I. 8. The name of the lake, Zebe, was probably learned by the Portuguese at Delagoa Bay, or Inhambane. In the Kafir language, a lake is called ichibi, which, further N., would become izibi. It is remarkable that Jacob de Bucquoi, the Duteh engineer who constructed the fort in Delagoa Bay, denies the existence of the lake, but yet the position assigned by him to the source of the Mañísa nearly coincides with Lake Ngami. Aanmerkelyke Ontmoetingèn in de Zestien jaarige Reize naar de Indiën, &c., door J. de Bucquoi, Haarlem, 1744, p. 9.

† Botelho, Memoria Estatistica, &c., p. 126.; Capt. Owen's Voyage, vol. I. p. 317.

A system of internal waters, connected by canals and intermixed with marshes and salt-pans, and spread over some thousands of square miles, must owe its existence altogether to imperfect development of the river-courses. A complete channel being once cut to the sea, the country would be quickly drained. If we view this whole system of waters in its relation to the Zambéze or Cuama and to the Limpopo, Manísa, or King George's River, we shall find the latter much more likely than the former to afford it an outlet to the sea. In fact, the south-eastern end of the Zouga is but 200 miles from the Limpopo; and if we follow the sand-rivers, as they are called, or rills along the rocks beneath the sand, we should come very near the latter river, the intervening country being all a level plain. Yet there is no evidence that these waters reach the sea by the Limpopo; but if, after spreading over thousands of square miles, filling extensive salt-marshes, and supplying the desert to a great distance with rivulets on the limestone beneath the sand, it wants the force to work itself a channel through the plain, straightforward to the Limpopo, how unlikely is it, that it should wheel round in its course and, leaving inundated plains in the rear, cut its way through the mountains! The fact seems to be that the plains of Butúa are much lower than Monomopata collectively: that the southern and western borders of the latter country figure as mountains in those plains, the waters of which, being spread over an immense area, are wasted, either on the surface by evaporation, or beneath it through the sand and the fissures of the limestone rock.

When we cast a comprehensive glance at these discoveries, our notice is at once arrested by the circumstance that the Seshéke, or, we should rather say, the Toubatsi, rises in the same heights (Lobale) as the Lulúa or Zaire; the two great rivers taking directly opposite courses. In Mr. Livingstone's sketch of a map, constructed from native information, is marked a large river, the Langebongo, running to the N. N. W. This is evidently the Lulúa, traced, by its affluent the Lueña (*i. e.* river), through the territories of Quiboque. When the people of Congo stated, as reported by D'Eñciso, that their river (the Zaire) rises in high mountains, from which another great river flows in the opposite direction, it is evident that the Toubatsi was the river indicated.

The map above alluded to contains a multitude of details, the interpretation or appreciation of which may appear to many doubtful. The central portion of it embraces a country hitherto quite unknown. On its borders are several names which we think may be explained with tolerable certainty; and since, if our conjectures be well founded, the value of the whole map will be thereby enhanced, we shall proceed at once to disclose them. In the north-western angle of the map the Kuanja is clearly the Quanza; and the Babindele, the people of Benguela. Whether by Manakazela, whose town is forty-five days N. N. W. from Barotse, is to be understood the Lord of the Salt-marsh, Qüigila, we shall not venture to decide. But here we come on firmer ground, and have no doubt that the Loval of the Benguelans is the Lobale of the Bachuana; who call the inhabitants,

of course, Balobale. South of Loval, from west to east, are the Sovas or chiefs, Canunga, Bunda, and Amboella, whose names appear to us to be the roots of the gentile names, Banyenko, Bamaponda and Bamoeñe, in Mr. Livingstone's map. Next to Lobale, on the east, comes the dominion of the Cazembe, whose people, the Alunda or Arunda, are obviously the Balonda of the Bachuana. The Movíza, the Cazembe's neighbours, who call themselves in the singular Mbiza, are the Babisa. The river Liambae, separating the Babisa from the Balonda, is the Luambeje of Quiburi's people, or, liquefying the j, Luambeye, that is, the (New) Zambéze: the Mambowe, south of the Balonda, are the Ambos of the Portuguese. The descriptive expression Korishibilamakoa, following the Babisa in a marginal note, probably refers to the Whiteman's Sea or Indian Ocean (in Sichuana makóa means a white man). Sebola makoa, the name supposed by Mr. Livingstone to be given to Nyassa by the Bachuana, appears to us to have been derived, from the expression just mentioned, by an erroneous analysis. The Basañko of the sketch are probably the Sangas of the Portuguese, dwelling on the banks of the Aruangoa. Further south we have no hesitation in identifying the Batoka of the sketch with the Botonga of the Portuguese writers. As to the name Maninchi, given to the river which joins the Tobatsi towards its termination (its other name, Bashukolompo, is evidently that of a people), may it not be a form of Mañísa? Thus it appears that the sketch founded on native information coincides in its

outlines with our map throughout, from west by north to east, in order, coherence, and general bearing, but not in exact distance and position. Its error lies chiefly in its tendency to unite all the known rivers in one great system. There still remains a question, arising out of the narrative of these discoveries, which deserves a moment's notice:—Who were the Mambári, the slave dealers from the west, who visited Sibatoani in 1850? We answer, they were the Mucobale, who dwell round the new Portuguese colony of Mossámedes Bay (Little Fish Bay), in Benguela, lat. 15° 12′ S. The name Mucobale (native or inhabitant of Nbale) may be exchanged for the more familiar form of Mambale, which, in the interior, would probably be pronounced Mambare.

The highly interesting and improveable country thus brought to light by Messrs. Oswell and Livingstone, will probably start into importance before long. The emigrant Boers are now located on the southern side or right bank of the Limpopo or Mañísa, while on the opposite bank spread the plains which absorb the last drainings of the Tobatsi. As the Boers increase, and become well acquainted with the country, they will not fail to exercise a stirring influence on the well-watered, well-timbered region towards the north-west. A journey of 300 miles over a level plain is to them a trifle. They will also discover, before long, that they are in the immediate vicinity of those gold mines to which Sofálah owed all its ancient celebrity. The river Mañísa has been said to be navigable in large boats 160 miles, up to

the Falls, and above these 120 miles in small boats. These distances are probably exaggerated.

It is not in their results alone that discoveries are interesting; but also in their early germination and their development, which is rarely so instantaneous as the vulgar imagine. While enjoying in contemplation the new regions just revealed to us, we ought to remember that the expediency and probable facility of exploring the country on the left bank of the Mañísa, and towards the sources of the Zambéze, were pointed out nineteen years ago, in a memoir, which assumed that the Mariqua and Limpopo were the head-waters of the Mañísa, which now seems to be fully established.* The project then received a luke-warm support, but was eventually strangled by the parasitic schemes which fastened on it immediately. The expedition prepared to carry the design into execution was, in fact, a mere sham; and the learned body which had adopted the design soon forgot all of it that deserved to be remembered.

Those who regard geography as the handmaid of history, charged with the office of unfolding and elucidating the influential incidents of our terrestrial habitation, will recognise with pleasure the truthfulness of the outline presented by the recapitulation of the preceding pages. A great lake is described as being situate near the line of communication across the continent. The direction of this line, though told in varying terms, is yet constant; it goes from

* Memoir on the Civilisation of the Tribes near Delagoa Bay, by W. D. Cooley, 1833.

Congo to Sofálah, or from Angola to Monomotapa, or from the Zaire to the Zambéze; and these two rivers are said to issue from the lake. That the Zaire should be supposed to have its sources in the lake is not surprising, since the road to the lake goes for some hundreds of miles up the valley of that river. The choice of the road is equally natural, for it leads over well-watered elevated lands, crossed by a lively stream at every three miles, on an average. It is on such highlands that the indigenous civilisation of Africa is invariably found. The rank and overpowering vegetation of lowlands within the tropics defies the control of savage man, who, unable to cope with the exuberant vigour of nature, sinks into abject dependence on the frequently profuse but still casual bounty of the woods. Husbandry begins with pastoral life on the open plains, near the sources of the rivers. It is likely, therefore, that the elevated eastern side of the valley of the Lulúa was soon peopled. But, for the same reason, the elevated land on the eastern side of the lake, round the sources of the rivers descending to the Indian Ocean, early became the seat of a comparatively powerful and civilised race, the Mucaranga. Whether this name have reference to a great river, and whether the subsequent title of the empire, Moenemoézi, may not in like manner point to the collected waters on the west, are questions the discussion of which would be in this place premature and fruitless.* A branch

* When we know exactly how the Moenemoézi call themselves and their country, we shall be better able to compare this name

of the Mucaranga went southwards and occupied the country which was enriched at an early age by the gold mines of Mañísa and the commerce of Sofálah. The mineral products of the central highland, at the sources of the Lulúa, fed and impelled the intercourse in both directions.

How far the lake served at different periods as a direct link in the communication it is hard to say. Since commerce and active navigation seem confined to its southern portion, we must conclude that further north they are discouraged by some physical or moral impediments; by the steep, inhospitable character of the eastern shore, or by wild and jealous tribes occupying the marshes on the west, or by both. But this break in the communication is repaired by tribes (the Movíza, &c.) who station themselves on the hills between the New Zambéze and the Aruangoa, in the

with Massi, Moza, Muaza, Movíza, or (as the Portuguese write it) Muiza, and some other similar names, and these again with the words matse, metsi, mosi, messi, magi, signifying water. These latter words are all plural. Nyassa or Nyassi might also be plural. The Mucaranga word Aruangoa, Arwanha, or Ruénia (for it is written variously by the Portuguese) undoubtedly signifies a river, and the latter form, Ruéña or Luéña, extends far and wide into the Bachuana country, and to Angola. The Ovaherero say Omaronga; the Pongue at the Gaboon, Carongo or Aruongo. The name Ranga, or, as Mariano wrote it, Ruenga, approaches closely to the Mucaranga form. But where we have to tread our way among so many varying dialects and sounds, not perhaps perfectly represented in European alphabets, we must abstain from hasty conjectures. It is remarkable that in Monomotapa the chief officers of the king's guard were called Mucamoegi. Was not this a title of eminence, alluding to the ancient country (Moegi or Moezi) of the Mucaranga?—Man. Godinho, Vita Patris Gonz. Silveriæ, p. 115.

capacity of traders and carriers. They convey the ivory and copper from the Luapula to the sea-coast. They also restore the communication, once important, between the separated branches of the Mucaranga. The commercial character of their barren country is rendered visible by the numerous settlers in and near it from the southern end of Nyassa. Near the Aruangoa we find Massi, the same name which, two centuries ago, occurred fifteen days up the lake. A little further north on the road is Mambo Mucanguro, *i. e.* the native Manguro king. Near him are the Muceba or Xiva, as the Portuguese call them, evidently the Muchiva, whom Khamís enumerated among the Wanyassa. Further north, near the New Zambézi, is Morunga Mambara; the latter name being that of a great nation S. of Iáo. Even Chipaco, the Cazembe's southern feudatory, seems to be a stranger, and is called by the native travellers Camango (Mucamango). Finally, the Auembe have dispossessed the Movíza, doubtless not for the sake of their sterile soil, but of their commerce. These hills, which we shall still call the Movíza country, form an important and well-established point in the communication across the continent.

But now we approach the Zambéze, which was also said to issue from the lake. Such a belief was quite in unison with the general tenor of native African geography, since the chief feeders of that river, the Aruangoa and the Shíre, rise in the highlands round the southern end of the lake. And, besides, the Mucaranga settled on its southern banks,

would naturally cherish a belief connecting the river of their adopted country with their original home in the north. The traffic of these Mucaranga with the Movíza, across the country of the Marávi, completed the line of communication—the only one distinctly pointed out—between the eastern and western coasts of Africa. It is true that from the Lualába to the Zambéze the route may have gone occasionally down the valley of the Seshéke, and thence eastwards to Monomotapa. But, however clear may be the allusion in one or two authors to the lake, or rather floods of Butúa, there is no trace of an established commercial intercourse in that quarter; and it is certain that the permanent lake in the neighbourhood of the Mucaranga figures exclusively in the accounts collected on the populous coasts of Eastern Africa.

In the neighbourhood of Kílwa, long the emporium of Eastern Africa, a great river reaches the coast from a distance of 500 miles, its numerous branches watering a very wide region; and the same locality presents another spectacle, rare in Africa; namely, that of the trade of the interior descending fully and freely to the coasts in a settled course. A little further north the river of Pangáni descends from Kilíma Njáro, flowing S. and E. About 200 miles N. of Pangáni is the mouth of the Ozi, the river which collects the northern streams from the same mountain. The whole region embraced by those rivers is, with the exception of the maritime slope, deficient in running waters, and offers a clear proof of the absence so far of any chain of mountains parallel to the coast. Then comes

a group of mountains (Kénia or Ndur kenia), ranging at right angles to the coast. The greatest river known to the inhabitants of this mountainous country appears to be the Webbe or Nile of Makádisho. In the outline here presented, the Mountains of the Moon and the sources of the Nile make no figure; but they have been excluded by no effort but that of adhering to sober reason and authentic evidence.

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